

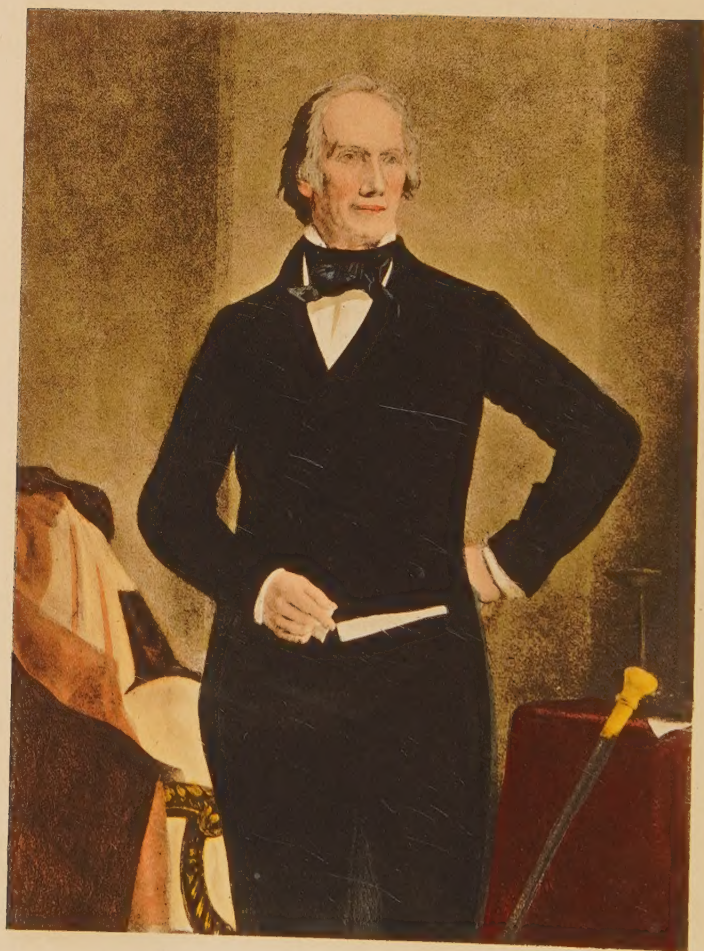


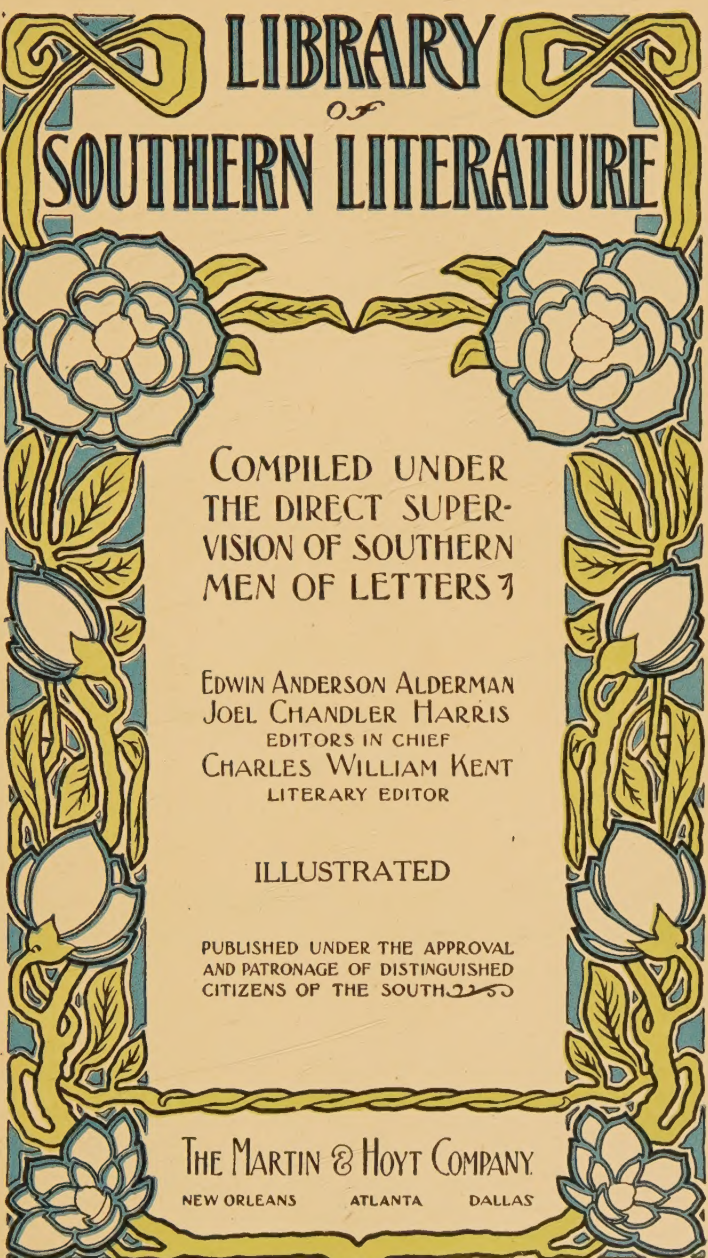






Digitized by the Internet Archive
in 2025





LIBRARY *of* SOUTHERN LITERATURE

COMPILED UNDER
THE DIRECT SUPER-
VISION OF SOUTHERN
MEN OF LETTERS

EDWIN ANDERSON ALDERMAN
JOEL CHANDLER HARRIS
EDITORS IN CHIEF
CHARLES WILLIAM KENT
LITERARY EDITOR

ILLUSTRATED

PUBLISHED UNDER THE APPROVAL
AND PATRONAGE OF DISTINGUISHED
CITIZENS OF THE SOUTH.

THE MARTIN & HOYT COMPANY
NEW ORLEANS ATLANTA DALLAS

LIBRARY OF
SOUTHERN LITERATURE

VOLUME III

CLAY—DICKSON

COPYRIGHT, 1907, BY
THE MARTIN AND HOYT COMPANY, ATLANTA, GEORGIA.

COPYRIGHT, 1909, BY
THE MARTIN AND HOYT COMPANY, ATLANTA, GEORGIA.

EXECUTIVE BOARD

EDITORS IN CHIEF.

EDWIN ANDERSON ALDERMAN, LL.D.,
President University of Virginia.

JOEL CHANDLER HARRIS, Litt. D.,
Editor Uncle Remus's Magazine, Atlanta, Georgia.

LITERARY EDITOR.

CHARLES WILLIAM KENT, M.A., Ph.D., LL.D.,
University of Virginia.

ASSOCIATE LITERARY EDITOR.

CHARLES ALPHONSO SMITH, A.M., Ph.D., LL.D.,
University of North Carolina.

ASSISTANT LITERARY EDITORS.

MORGAN CALLAWAY, JR., A.M., Ph.D.,
University of Texas.

FRANKLIN L. RILEY, A.M., Ph.D.,
University of Mississippi.

GEORGE A. WAUCHOPE, A.M., Ph.D.,
University of South Carolina.

EXECUTIVE EDITOR.

F. P. GAMBLE,
Atlanta, Georgia.

CONSULTING EDITORS

JOHN W. ABERCROMBIE, LL.D.,
President University of Alabama.

BROWN AYRES, Ph.D., LL.D.,
President University of Tennessee.

DAVID C. BARROW, C. and M.E., LL.D.,
Chancellor University of Georgia.

THOMAS D. BOYD, A.M., LL.D.,
President Louisiana State University.

E. B. CRAIGHEAD, A.M., LL.D.,
President Tulane University, Louisiana.

GEORGE H. DENNY, M.A., Ph.D., LL.D.,
President Washington and Lee University.

BASIL L. GILDERSLEEVE,
A.M., Ph.D., LL.D., L.H.D.,
Johns Hopkins University, Maryland.

DAVID F. HOUSTON, A.M., LL.D.,
President University of Texas.

RICHARD H. JESSE, LL.D.,
President University of Missouri.

A. A. KINCANNON, LL.D.,
Chancellor University of Mississippi.

J. H. KIRKLAND, A.M., Ph.D., LL.D.,
*Chancellor Vanderbilt University,
Tennessee.*

F. V. N. PAINTER, A.M., D.D.,
Roanoke College, Virginia.

R. N. ROARK, M.A., Ph.D.,
*President Kentucky State Normal
School.*

ANDREW SLEDD, Ph.D., LL.D.,
President University of Florida.

HENRY N. SNYDER, A.M., LL.D.,
*President Wofford College, South
Carolina.*

JOHN N. TILLMAN, LL.D.,
President University of Arkansas.

FRANCIS P. VENABLE, Ph.D., LL.D.,
President University of North Carolina.

ADVISORY COUNCIL

CHARLES B. AYCOCK,
Ex-Governor, North Carolina.

RICHMOND P. HOBSON,
Congressman, Alabama.

WILLIAM D. BLOXHAM,
Ex-Governor, Florida.

BENJAMIN J. KEILEY, D.D.,
Resident Catholic Bishop of Georgia.

EDWARD W. CARMACK,
Ex-U. S. Senator, Tennessee.

STEPHEN D. LEE,
General Commanding U.C.V., Mississippi.

HENRY COHEN,
Rabbi, Texas.

W. W. MOORE, D.D., LL.D.,
*President Union Theological Seminary,
Virginia.*

CHARLES A. CULBERSON,
U.S. Senator, Texas.

EDGAR Y. MULLINS, D.D., LL.D.,
*President Southern Baptist Theological
Seminary, Kentucky.*

DAVID R. FRANCIS,
Publicist, Missouri.

FRANCIS T. NICHOLS,
Supreme Court of Louisiana.

THOMAS F. GAILOR, D.D., LL.D.,
Protestant Episcopal Bishop, Tennessee.

ISIDOR RAYNER,
U.S. Senator, Maryland.

CHARLES B. GALLOWAY, D.D., LL.D.,
Bishop M.E. Church, South, Mississippi.

U. M. ROSE,
*Ex-President American Bar Association,
Arkansas.*

JOHN TEMPLE GRAVES,
Editor and Lecturer, Georgia.

DUNCAN C. HEYWARD,
Ex-Governor, South Carolina.

HOKE SMITH,
Governor of Georgia.

COPYRIGHT ACKNOWLEDGMENT

In addition to special credit given elsewhere, grateful acknowledgment is made to the following owners and publishers for permission to reprint the selections used in this volume:

G. W. Dillingham and Company, E. B. Treat and Company, Harper and Brothers, Presbyterian Committee of Publication, Mrs. Danske Dandridge, Mrs. O. T. Dargan, Charles Scribner's Sons, Silver, Burdett and Company, Noah K. Davis, Fleming H. Revell Company, John W. Lovell Company, J. B. Lippincott Company, Bobbs-Merrill Company, D. Appleton Company, Curtis Publishing Company, Doubleday, Page & Company, Miss Dromgoole, Arthur M. Easter, The Century Company, George P. Putnam's Sons, R. F. Fenner and Company.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

VOLUME III

CLAY, HENRY (1777-1852)	- - - - -	PAGE 937
-------------------------	-----------	-------------

BY Z. F. SMITH

On the Emancipation of South America
On Retiring from Office
The Compromise of 1850

CLOUD, VIRGINIA WOODWARD (18 —)	- - -	979
----------------------------------	-------	-----

BY ELLEN DUVALL

Of the Sea
The Enviab! Errand of Master Merrivein
Down Durley Lane
Paying the Piper
A Petition
Youth
Love's Lenity
The Simple Shepherd
Iram's Rose
Mother Earth
Leisurely Lane
The Heart on the Highway
Balm
Egypt Land
The Jester's Song
Liza Wetherford

CONWAY, MONCURE DANIEL (1832-1907)	- - -	1007
------------------------------------	-------	------

BY JOHN HOLLADAY LATANÉ

Recollections of Froude and Carlyle

	PAGE
COOKE, JOHN ESTEN (1830-1886) - - -	1031

BY J. L. ARMSTRONG

The Opening of the Ball
 The Last Viceregal Entrance
 The Earl
 Sir William Berkeley
 The Single Combat
 A Deserter
 How Breathed Fought His Gun
 Band in the Pine Wood
 A Sigh for England

COOKE, PHILIP PENDLETON (1816-1850) - -	1063
---	------

BY F. V. N. PAINTER

Florence Vane
 Young Rosalie Lee
 To My Daughter Lily
 Life in the Autumn Woods
 Geoffrey Têtenoire

CROCKETT, DAVID (1786-1836) - - - -	1083
-------------------------------------	------

BY JAMES M. GRAINGER

Courtship and Marriage
 A Keg of Powder
 A Bear Hunt
 Traveling in Arkansas
 The Last Days in the Alamo

CURRY, JABEZ LAMAR MONROE (1825-1903) - -	1111
---	------

BY EDWIN A. ALDERMAN

National Peril and Remedy
 Negotiations for the Acquisition of Florida
 Southern Conservatism
 Revenues of the Confederacy
 Angels and Ministers

DABNEY, ROBERT LEWIS (1820-1898)	-	-	-	-	1143
----------------------------------	---	---	---	---	------

BY J. GRAY M'ALLISTER

Open Letter to Dr. S. Irenæus Prime
The Mortal Wounding of General Jackson
On Style

DANDRIDGE, DANSKE (1864—)	-	-	-	-	1175
---------------------------	---	---	---	---	------

BY WAITMAN BARBE

The Wood Demon
The Fairies' Masquerade
The Dead Moon
The Spirit and the Wood-Sparrow
The Flicker
To My Comrade Tree
Parted
The Struggle
Fortitude
The Wood-Thrush
Fairy Fare

DARGAN, OLIVE TILFORD (18 —)	-	-	-	-	1195
------------------------------	---	---	---	---	------

BY EDWIN WILEY

Carlotta
The Poet
Semiramis
The Death of Pembroke

DAVIS, GEORGE (1820-1896)	-	-	-	-	1225
---------------------------	---	---	---	---	------

BY C. ALPHONSO SMITH

Henry Clay

DAVIS, JEFFERSON (1808-1889)	-	-	-	-	1243
------------------------------	---	---	---	---	------

BY J. WILLIAM JONES

The Principles of Democracy
Speech at Portland, Maine
Farewell Address to U. S. Senate, January, 1861
Inaugural Address of President Davis

	PAGE
DAVIS, MARY EVELYN MOORE (1852—)	1273

BY WILLIAM B. SMITH

The Love-Stranche
 The Soul of Rose Dédé
 Counsel
 The Passing of the Rose
 Throwing the Wanga

DAVIS, NOAH KNOWLES (1830—)	1309
-----------------------------	------

BY COLLINS DENNY

The Plain
 Essay on Poetry
 Teleology
 Charity
 On Miracles
 Stilling the Tempest

DAVIS, VARINA ANNE JEFFERSON (1864-1898)	1333
--	------

BY CHILES CLIFTON FERRELL

Execution of Robert Emmet
 The Climax
 Consummation of the Romance

DAVIS, VARINA HOWELL (1826-1906)	1349
----------------------------------	------

BY CORNELIA BRANCH STONE

Visit of Calhoun, 1845
 The Senate in 1845
 Nearing the End
 Mr. Davis's Characteristics

DAWSON, FRANCIS WARRINGTON (1840-1889)	1369
--	------

BY J. C. HEMPHILL

Only a Private
 Running the Blockade

CONTENTS

xi

DICKSON, HARRIS (1868—)	- - - -	PAGE 1387
-------------------------	---------	--------------

BY CHARLES P. KEMPER

Unreconstructed

Foreword

Bienville

The Fall of Pensacola

Evening in the Delta

Peg-leg Dawkins

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

HENRY CLAY	Frontispiece
JABEZ LAMAR MONROE CURRY	Facing page 1111
JEFFERSON DAVIS	Facing page 1243
VARINA ANNE JEFFERSON (WINNIE) DAVIS	Facing page 1333

HENRY CLAY

[1777—1852]

ZACHARIAH FREDERICK SMITH

THE life of Henry Clay possesses an interest more individual, suggestive, and unique than that of any other American statesman. His biography, in detail might be read and studied as a *résumé* of the political history of our Government, for his era. During the half century of his public career, he was the recognized leader of forces, the exponent and director of policies, and the master of debate in advocacy and defence of measures—the man at the helm, steering the Ship of State through the rocks and reefs of experimental transition, to constitutional order and stability. He moved from Virginia and located at Lexington, Kentucky, in 1797, at the age of twenty years. He had barely passed his majority when he acquired local fame for those forensic powers for which he became universally distinguished. The stormy protest against the Alien and Sedition Acts of the Federal party in power, and the angry cry for States Rights, as set forth in the Kentucky Resolutions of 1798, gave occasion for a display, before great audiences of the people, of eloquence such as they had not before heard. The next year, in the election of delegates to frame a new constitution for Kentucky, he as boldly and eloquently advocated a provision in the new instrument for the extirpation of slavery in the State, in the face of an overpowering opposition. At the bar, and in the Legislature to which he was elected in 1803, he added laurels to his reputation as an orator, and as a leader of men and of measures.

In 1806 Mr. Clay, though he lacked at the time over three months of the eligible age, was elected to the United States Senate, to fill out an unexpired term; yet no objection made to his taking his seat is of record. For almost half a century he shared the responsibilities of government with the eminent survivors of the Revolution and with later distinguished contemporaries. It was the pride and boast of the ancient Greeks that, within the third and fourth centuries of the Christian era, the golden age of their intellectual development, their country produced seventeen men who were the world's masters in philosophy, in oratory, in science, and in fine art. Our own country can claim that, in Washington, Lee, Adams, Hamilton, Jefferson, Madison, Monroe, Henry, Marshall, Mason,

Pendleton, Wythe, Webster, Calhoun, Jackson, Benton, and Henry Clay, in the golden age of intellectual development in America, she, in a single generation, produced seventeen men, not so academic, but as great as were the Greek masters in oratory; and as much greater in statesmanship, and in political and judicial science, as were the latter in scholastic philosophy and fine art. Among these men of genius preëminently great in history, Henry Clay was conspicuous for his part in adjusting, without a precedent for guidance, the constitutional functions of government.

Some of the national events of his public career, in which his name appears most prominent as leader and promoter, are engraved on a gold medal presented him by the citizens of New York:

Senator, 1806; Speaker of the House, 1811; War with England, 1812; Treaty with Ghent, 1814; Spanish America, 1821; Missouri Compromise, 1821; American System, 1824; Greek Independence, 1824; Secretary of State, 1825; Panama Instructions, 1826; Tariff Compromise, 1833; Public Domain and Internal Improvements, 1833-1841; Peace with France Preserved, 1835; Compromise Measure, 1850.

On these and other questions of national policy he performed no inferior or obscure part. "From the day he entered the public service to the close of his career, he was never a follower, but always the most conspicuous leader," said Senator Seward.

Henry Clay was born April 12, 1777, in Hanover County, Virginia. His parents were Reverend John and Elizabeth Hudson Clay, the latter the younger of two daughters of George and Elizabeth Jennings Hudson, of English descent, and also of Hanover County. Elizabeth Hudson married Reverend John Clay in 1765, at the age of fifteen years, and bore him nine children to the time of his death in 1781; only three of whom, John, Henry and Porter Clay, lived to manhood age. In 1784 she married Henry Watkins, to whom she bore seven other children, sixteen in all. The impression made upon the public mind by historians and biographers that Henry Clay was born of lowly and obscure parentage, and that his youthful life was cast in an environment of poverty and toil, is most erroneous and unjust. The true story corrects this, as told in the recent "Filson Club Publication, No. 14," of Louisville, Kentucky, entitled 'The Clay Family; Part First, The Mother of Henry Clay; Part Second, The Genealogy of the Clays, 1899.' The information of this book is derived from authentic records in the possession of the grandchildren of Henry Clay, from genealogical records of the Clay families, and from personal records of intimate friends of the century past. The numerous branches of the Clays of Virginia, Kentucky, Alabama, and other states, South and West, trace back three hun-

dred years, to a common ancestor, Sir John Clay of Wales. His son, John Clay, immigrated to Virginia, and located at Charles City, in 1613, with a credit of ten thousand pounds advanced by his father. He was a captain in the King's service, and known as "The English Grenadier."

In the line of descent were Charles Clay, the son of Captain John; Henry Clay, the son of Charles; John Clay, the son of Henry; Reverend John Clay, the son of John; and Henry the Great, the son of Reverend John. From the divergent families for three centuries, there has been no generation in which the Clay family was not represented in high public positions, such as senators and representatives in Congress, ambassadors abroad, diplomatic commissioners, cabinet officers, chief justices, and others of honor and trust. No family of America has been more prolific of eminent public men. "A goodly number of them have filled positions of honor, who would shine more brightly in reputation but for the eclipsing rays of the Great Commoner." The Reverend John Clay, the father of Henry, is known to history as a minister of the Baptist Church and a citizen of estimable character and much dignity of deportment, but of only local reputation. It is said of him that he was "remarkable for his fine voice and delivery." He lived in the years of Revolutionary disorders, not a favorable environment for the civilian to achieve fame. He died in 1781, one year before the close of hostilities. Of the brothers of Henry Clay, Porter was Auditor of Kentucky in 1822. He became also an able minister of the Baptist Church, and evangelized throughout the then frontier settlements of Missouri, Illinois, and Arkansas. At Camden, Arkansas, he died, lamented, in 1850. He is said to have preached the first Protestant sermon west of the Mississippi River. Of his brother John we know little, except that he was a business man of New Orleans, where he married and died.

Of heredity on the maternal side little or nothing was known, until the recent Filson Club Publication, mentioned. Of the many biographies and histories of the life of Henry Clay, the large majority make no record of even the name of the woman who gave him birth and early rearing; while a few but mention her name and the names of her parents. Thus the study of this source of the origin and outgrowth of a great character of history has been neglected by omission. In this instance it is interesting and important; the father died when the child, Henry, was but four years of age, and to the noble mother was left the beginning and fashioning of the son to become illustrious. Left an orphan and widow herself, with three infant children, and two large plantations and some thirty slaves to manage, she met the task bravely amid the disasters and wreckage of war, not unlike that experienced by the Southern peo-

ple in the late Civil War. In her extremity, a detachment of Tarleton's Troopers raided her dwelling premises, broke in pieces her furniture, ransacked her bureaus and closets for valuables, and cut open her feather-ticks and threw them out of the windows. They did their devilish work under a torrent of indignant scorn and invective from the spirited woman who knew no fear in defence of outraged rights. She only wept as she beheld an officer, on the departure of the troopers, throw across his saddle and mount upon her wedding-gown of rare make, and ride away with the priceless memento, a bridal souvenir she had treasured with the pride and pleasure of a loving wife. Soon after Tarleton rode up, dismounted, and came in. He attempted apology under the merciless fire of the angry woman's tongue; and against her protest, offered indemnity for the damages done. Finding her obstinate, he finally poured out a pile of money upon a table, and departed. When he was out of sight, she raked the money in her apron and threw it into the fire, exclaiming that "No British gold in her hands should ever atone for British outrage and insult."

The widow Clay afterward married Henry Watkins, ten years her junior. They moved to Kentucky in 1792, and settled in Versailles, where they conducted a hostelry, famous as a typical tavern-stand of that day. She led a busy, energetic life within the domestic sphere of pioneer days, and with unfailing cheerfulness and courage, met all emergencies. Her removal to Kentucky no doubt decided her devoted son, Henry, to follow five years later, and to locate at Lexington, but thirteen miles away. The ardent mutual affection displayed through life between mother and son was beautiful in the characters of both. Some years after her death, he had her remains removed from a country burying-ground and reinterred in his own lot in the cemetery of Lexington, erecting at his own expense an imposing monument, on which he ordered the following inscription to her memory:

ELIZABETH WATKINS

FORMERLY

ELIZABETH CLAY.

BORN, 1750; DIED, 1829.

THIS MONUMENT, A TRIBUTE TO HER MANY DOMESTIC
VIRTUES, HAS BEEN PROMPTED BY THE FILIAL AFFECTION
AND VENERATION OF HER GRATEFUL SON.

H. CLAY.

As represented in the recorded reminiscences of aged persons who were neighbors and intimate friends, the mother of Henry Clay

was a woman of rare personal attractions. Her comely head and luminous countenance indicated great vigor of mind, which expressed itself in an ardent and sympathetic temperament. Her well-rounded and shapely person, of medium stature, betrayed unusual energy and endurance. She unconsciously asserted much of that imperiousness of will which was a distinguishing trait of her illustrious son. Her individuality was striking. She spoke with authority, yet always with respect and kindness to others. Her ministries of benevolence which were unceasing, made her almost venerated by neighbors and friends. In her home life she was hospitable and kind. She was born of gentle blood, of the old Virginia colonial stock. Her parents, George and Elizabeth Jennings Hudson; and her grandparents, John and Elizabeth Harris Hudson, back into the Seventeenth Century, were of what was called under the King's rule, the "Gentry"; and were possessed of lands and slaves, ample to enable them to live in the pretentious style indulged in by our forefathers, of powdered wigs, silk stockings, and knee-buckles of silver and gold. On both the paternal and maternal sides, the heredity of Henry Clay was as good as the best; yes, Nature was in a lavish mood when the child of Genius was born into the world.

As to the environment of poverty and toil, and sore want, in the days of his childhood and youth, the stories told are mainly apocryphal. We have before us the will of George Hudson, the father of Mrs. John Clay, probated in 1773, bequeathing to his widow and two children his homestead plantation and thirty slaves, besides other lands and personalty. One half of all went to Mrs. John Clay at the death of her mother, in 1781. We have also the will of Reverend John Clay, probated in 1782, which bequeathed to his widow and children two well stocked plantations, twenty negroes named and allotted, and other negroes unnamed to be equally allotted; besides other personal property. With other evidences, these documents attest that, in the childhood years of Henry, the Clay family was possessed of sufficient estate to enable the members to live in comfort; this was later reduced by the disorders of the times. It is a curious incident unexplained, that in all formal proceedings, and in the court records connected with these wills, the father of Henry Clay is always addressed or mentioned as "Sir John Clay," the title of the old ancestor, "Sir John," of Wales.

To the age of fourteen, Henry Clay received such instruction in elementary studies as the typical country school then afforded. His worthy stepfather, Captain Watkins, obtained for him a position in the store of Richard Denny, in Richmond. His exceptional fidelity and diligence led a year later to his appointment as a subordinate in the office of the High Court of Chancery, of which Peter

Tinsley was Chief Clerk. Those eminent jurists, of historic note, Edmund Pendleton and George Wythe, were then Chancellors of the Court. The neat, legible and accurate penmanship of the youth, together with his engaging and courteous address, won the attention of Judge Wythe, the preceptor in law of John Marshall, Jefferson, and other eminent men. Henry Clay became amanuensis for him. A mutual intimacy grew into mutual interest. The fatherly and friendly counsel and favors of Judge Wythe decided the young man to study law under Judge Brooke, attorney-general of Virginia. At the age of twenty years he received his license to practice, and soon after followed his mother to Kentucky. Henry Clay had little or none of academic culture; but he was a diligent and apt student in the school of experience and of character-lessons, where he learned much that was serviceable. The most learned men in legal science in Virginia were his tutors and daily monitors, while illustrious statesmen, such as Jefferson, Madison, Monroe, Mason, Patrick Henry of his own county, Hanover, and others as great, were his most constant and familiar ideals. The youthful genius of Henry Clay blossomed in the Garden of the Gods.

That Henry Clay was preëminently a great man, is not questioned. But what were the qualities and measure of that greatness which places him a conspicuous figure in the front rank of the few preëminently great characters of history? No man has been endowed, or can be endowed, with a wealth of attributes to make him greatest in all things above his fellows. The genius of Henry Clay had its limitations. But, in the gifts of true oratory that moved the souls of men, in comprehensive and prophetic vision of statesmanship, in diplomacy to adjust foreign relations, in advocacy of national measures of importance, and in the mastery and control of men and political parties to accomplish ends, he contests with peers in America, and no less with peers of the Ancient and Modern world, for the honors of the title *Primus inter Pares*. For a just and impartial view of the great man of history, we would inquire and know in what estimation his name and fame were held, when death, on June 29, 1852, at Washington, closed his long and brilliant career. The enthusiasm of friends was then chastened, and the animosities of enemies were subdued, in the pervading grief of the nation.

On the first of July his remains were borne to the Senate Chamber, where were assembled Congressmen, the President and Cabinet, ambassadors from foreign countries, Officers of the Army and Navy, and of the civic authorities, to pay fitting tribute to the memory of the deceased. In the many addresses at the Capitol, and throughout the States, upon the mournful occasion, we have a

chapter of monumental eloquence unsurpassed in the elegiac literature of the English language. Tributes were paid by orators and statesmen of more than national repute. The deep grief of our own countrymen, reflected in the sympathetic grief of the friends of liberty and democracy throughout the world, bears witness to the veneration in which Henry Clay was held by his contemporaries. As said by one orator: "The tidings of his death, borne with electric speed, have opened up the fountains of sorrow. Every city, town, village and hamlet will be clothed in mourning. Along the extended coast, the commercial and naval marines, with flags drooping at half-mast, own the bereavement. State-houses draped in black, amid the sound of minute-guns and tolling bells, proclaim the extinguishment of one of the great lights of the Senate; for amid the greatest of our race, he was always an equal. The Nation's lament is a fitting requiem for the illustrious dead." And another, in a distant State capital: "The whole people rose up to pay such honors to his memory, as had never been accorded to any other statesman of this country." The remains were borne in state to Kentucky. As the funeral cortège passed through Baltimore, Philadelphia, Cleveland, Cincinnati and other cities and towns, the people assembled in thousands to give expression to their veneration in words of lament, and often in tears.

The name of Henry Clay was treasured in the gratitude and affections of oppressed foreign people, whom he had befriended in the days of their struggle for freedom. His speeches of glowing eloquence, in plea for recognition of independence for the Greeks in revolt against Turkish tyranny, and for Mexico and the South American provinces in revolt against Spanish misrule, had been read to the insurgent soldiers in their camps, and cheered to the echo. Addresses of thanks had been voted and ordered sent to him, by the authorities of these young governments, recognizing him as the champion of liberty and self-rule for all peoples throughout the world. When tidings of the death of their friend and benefactor were borne to them on the shores of the Hellespont, in Mexico, and on the slopes of the Andes, flags were again at half-mast, and minute-guns and tolling bells gave token that the grief of our own Nation found response in world-wide sorrows. No higher evidence of distinctive greatness was ever bestowed on any character of history.

Again, we are interested to know in what light, and in what measure of preëminence, the great Tribune of the people was viewed by his colleagues in the councils of the Nation. In the words of Senator Underwood, of Kentucky: "By his death our country has lost one of its most eminent citizens; and as I believe, its greatest

statesman. No man was ever blessed by his Creator with faculties of a higher order of excellence than those given to Henry Clay." By Senator Cass, of the Opposition party: "He belonged to his country, and has taken prominent part both in peace and war, in all the questions affecting its interests and its honor. I believe he was as pure a statesman as ever participated in the councils of a nation. That he exercised a powerful influence throughout the whole country, we all feel and know, as we know the eminent endowments to which he owed this high distinction." By Senator Hunter: "He had beyond any man known to me the true mesmeric touch of the orator—the rare art of transferring his impulses to others. Thoughts, feelings, emotions, radiant and glowing, came from the ready mould of his genius, and communicated their own warmth to every heart that received them. His was the gift of wielding the higher and intenser powers of passion, with a majesty and ease which none but the great masters of the human heart can employ."

By Senator Seward: "His personal endowments were the elements of the success of that extraordinary man. He was indeed eloquent; all the world knows that. He held the keys to the hearts of his countrymen, and he turned the wards with a skill attained by no other man. But eloquence was only an instrument, and one of many that he used. His conversation, his gestures, his very look, were persuasive, irresistible. Defeat only inspired him with new resolution. He divided opposition by the assiduity of address; while he rallied and strengthened his own ranks of supporters by the confidence of success which, feeling himself, he inspired among his followers. His affections were pure and generous; and chiefest was his love of native country, which rendered him more impartial between conflicting interests and sections than any other statesman who has lived since the Revolution. With versatile talents, and the most catholic equality of favor, he identified every question, whether of domestic administration or foreign policy, with his own great name, and so became a perpetual Tribune of the people. He converted this branch of the Legislature from a negative position, or one of equilibrium between the Executive and the House of Representatives, into the active ruling power of the Republic."

By John C. Breckinridge, of the Opposition, representing the Ashland District of Kentucky, and, like Mr. Clay, an eminent orator, statesman, and leader of his party: "As leader in a deliberative body, Henry Clay had no equal in America. In him intellect, person, eloquence and courage united to form a character fit to command. He fired with enthusiasm, and controlled by his amazing will, individuals and masses. No reverse could subdue his spirit, nor defeat reduce him to despair. In his long and eventful life, he came in

contact with men of all ranks and professions; but he never felt that he was in the presence of a superior. In the assemblies of the people, at the bar, in the Senate, everywhere within the circle of his personal presence, he maintained a position of preëminence."

These are only a few impressions of the many notable contemporaries of Henry Clay, who paid tribute to him on the occasion of his death; but all are of the same tenor, and many in terms far more eulogistic. A common sentiment was that, in the endowment of intuitive genius, which, though but human, is nearest akin to inspiration, as orator and statesman, and as leader of men and forces in the advocacy of public measures, Henry Clay was the peer of the greatest in American history, and as well in the world's history, ancient and modern.



BIBLIOGRAPHY

Calvin Colton, *Private Correspondence of Henry Clay*; Derby, Cincinnati, 1856.

Horace Greeley, *Life and Speeches of Henry Clay*; New York, 1843.

D. Mallory, *Life and Speeches of Henry Clay*; Hart and Andrus, 1853.

J. R. Proctor, *Biographical and Critical Essay*, Warner's Library of Best Literature, Vol. 9.

Eulogies at Obsequies, Foster; Washington, D. C., 1853.

J. B. Swain, *Memoir, Life and Speeches*, 1843.

Carl Schurz, *Biography of Henry Clay* (2 vols.); Houghton, Boston, 1887.

J. M. Rogers, *True Story of Henry Clay*; J. B. Lippincott, Philadelphia, 1904.

George Robertson, *Biography and Speeches of Henry Clay*, 1855.

George D. Prentice, *Biography of Henry Clay*; Hanmer, Hartford, 1831.

A. H. Carrier, *Monument to Memory of Henry Clay*; W. A. Clarke, Cincinnati, 1858.

G. Vanderhoff, *Code or Text-Book of Eloquence*; C. Shepard, New York, 1844.

D. Mallory, *Life and Speeches of Henry Clay* (2 vols.); Bixby and Company, New York, 1843.

J. Seymour, Letters of United Provinces of South America to Henry Clay, New York, 1819.

S. M. Smucker, LL.D., Life and Times of Henry Clay; G. G. Evans, Philadelphia, 1860.

John Quincy Adams, Relations of Henry Clay, Address, Chicago Historical Society; Charles Hammond, 1884.

Ashland, Text-Book of Speeches; Saxton and Miles, New York, 1844.

His Duels, *Expositor*, Washington, D.C.

On Design of the Executive to destroy United States Bank, and to Create a Government Treasury. Reply to Calhoun, United States Senate, February 19, 1838.

Speech on Compromise; Stringer and Townsend, New York, 1850.

Epes Sargent, Life and Public Speeches of Henry Clay; Greeley and McElwrath, New York, 1844.

Address to Constituents; W. W. Worsley, Louisville, Kentucky, 1827.

Speech on Sub-Treasury Scheme; Tuttle and Burton, Troy, New York, 1838.

Speech on Imposing Heavier Duties; United States Senate, September 25, 1837.

Speech on Removal of Deposits; United States Senate, December 26-30, 1833.

John J. Crittenden, Funeral Oration on Henry Clay, at Louisville; Prentice and Henderson, September 29, 1852.

Five American Politicians; Burrows Brothers, Cleveland, 1906.

Monument to Memory of Henry Clay; Clarke, Cincinnati, 1857.

Obituary Addresses in General Assembly of Kentucky; Hodges, Frankfort, 1854.

Life and Public Services; W. G. Brownlow, 1844.

Life of Henry Clay, the Patriot and Statesman; Lee and Shepard, New York, 1875.

Richard Chambers, Speeches of Henry Clay; Shepherd and Stearns, Cincinnati, 1842.

Calvin Colton, LL.D., The Last Seven Years of the Life of Henry Clay; A. S. Barnes and Company, New York, 1856.

George D. Prentice, Biography of Henry Clay, Reviewed and Revised by Humphrey Marshall.

Z. F. Smith, The Clay Family; Part First, The Mother of Henry Clay; Part Second, The Genealogy of the Clays (Mrs. Mary Rogers Clay), Filson Club Publication, No. 14, 1899.

ON THE EMANCIPATION OF SOUTH AMERICA

In the House of Representatives, March 24, 1818.

[The following is considered one of the most important speeches made by Mr. Clay during his Congressional career. It is here that he appears as an advocate for the cause of the human liberty—"when, striving to usher the Southern republics for the great family of nations, he stood up before his countrymen like an apostle, commissioned by Freedom, to welcome her new votaries to the reward of their labors and their sacrifices. The glory which he won by the discharge of that commission is as imperishable as liberty itself. It will rise freshly above his grave, and grow greener with the lapse of centuries." At the session of Congress in 1816 and 1817, he had made allusions to the situation of the South American patriots, and expressed his warm sympathies in their behalf, and he now proposes to recognize the independence of the United Provinces of La Plata or Buenos Ayres, as the first established republic of South America.*]

I RISE under feelings of deeper regret than I have ever experienced on any former occasion, inspired, principally, by the painful consideration, that I find myself, on the proposition which I meant to submit, differing from many highly esteemed friends, in and out of this house, for whose judgment I entertained the greatest respect. A knowledge of this circumstance has induced me to pause; to subject my own convictions to the severest scrutiny, and to resolve the question over and over again. But all my reflections have conducted me to the same clear result; and, much as I value those friends, great as my deference is for their opinions, I cannot hesitate, when reduced to the distressing alternative of conforming my judgment to theirs, or pursuing the deliberate and mature dictates of my own mind. I enjoy some consolation, for the want of their coöperation, from the persuasion that, if I err on this occasion, I err on the side of the liberty and happiness of a large portion of the human family. Another, and, if possible, indeed a greater source of regret to which I refer is the utter incompetency, which I unfeignedly feel, to do anything like adequate justice to the great cause of American independence and freedom, whose interests I wish to promote by my humble

*Note from Mallory's 'Life of Henry Clay.'

exertions in this instance. Exhausted and worn down as I am, by the fatigue, confinement, and incessant application incident to the arduous duties of the honorable station I hold, during a four months' session, I shall need all that kind indulgence which has been so often extended to me by the house.

I beg, in the first place, to correct misconceptions, if any exist, in regard to my opinions. I am averse to war with Spain, or with any power. I would give no just cause of war to any power—not to Spain herself. I have seen enough of war, and of its calamities, even when successful. No country upon earth has more interest than this in cultivating peace and avoiding war, as long as it is possible honorably to avoid it. Gaining additional strength every day; our numbers doubling in periods of twenty-five years; with an income outstripping all our estimates, and so great, as, after a war in some respects disastrous, to furnish results which carry astonishment, if not dismay, into the bosom of states jealous of our rising importance; we have every motive for the love of peace. I cannot, however, approve, in all respects, of the manner in which our negotiations with Spain have been conducted. If ever a favorable time existed for the demand, on the part of an injured nation, of indemnity for past wrongs from the aggressor, such is the present time. Impoverished and exhausted at home, by the wars which have desolated the peninsula; with a foreign war, calling for infinitely more resources, in men and money, than she can possibly command, this is the auspicious period for insisting upon justice at her hands, in a firm and decided tone. Time is precisely what Spain now most wants. Yet what are we told by the President, in his message at the commencement of Congress? That Spain had procrastinated, and we acquiesced in her procrastination. And the Secretary of State, in a late communication with Mr. Onís, after ably vindicating all our rights tells the Spanish Minister, with a good deal of *sang froid*, that we have patiently waited thirteen years for a redress of our injuries, and that it required no great effort to wait longer! I would have abstained from thus exposing our intentions. Avoiding the use of the language of menace, I would have required, in temperate and decided terms, indemnity for all our wrongs; for the spoliation of our commerce; for the interruption of the

right of depot at New Orleans, guaranteed by treaty; for the insults repeatedly offered to our flag; for the Indian hostilities, which she was bound to prevent; for belligerent use made of her ports and territories, by our enemy, during the late war; and the instantaneous liberation of the free citizens of the United States, now imprisoned in her jails. Contemporaneous with that demand without waiting for her final answer, and with a view to the favorable operation on her councils in regard to our own peculiar interests, as well as in justice to the cause itself, I would recognize any established government in Spanish America. I would have left Spain to draw her own inferences from these proceedings, as to the ultimate step which this country might adopt, if she longer withheld justice from us. And if she persevered in her iniquity, after we had conducted the negotiation in the manner I have endeavored to describe, I would then take up and decide the solemn question of peace or war, with the advantage of all the light shed upon it, by subsequent events, and the probable conduct of Europe.

Spain has undoubtedly given us abundant and just cause of war. But it is not every cause of war that should lead to war. War is one of those dreadful scourges, that so shakes the foundation of society, overturns or changes the character of governments, interrupts or destroys the pursuits of private happiness, brings, in short, misery and wretchedness in so many forms, and at last is, in its issue, so doubtful and hazardous, that nothing but dire necessity can justify an appeal to arms. If we are to have war with Spain, I have, however, no hesitation in saying, that no mode of bringing it about could be less fortunate than that of seizing at this time upon her adjoining province. There was a time, under certain circumstances, when we might have occupied East Florida with safety; had we then taken it, our posture in the negotiations with Spain would have been totally different from what it is. But we have permitted that time, not with my consent, to pass by unimproved. If we were now to seize upon Florida, after a great change in those circumstances, and after declaring our intention to acquiesce in the procrastination desired by Spain, in what light should we be viewed by foreign powers, particularly Great Britain? We have already been

accused of inordinate ambition, and of seeking to aggrandize ourselves by an extension, on all sides, of our limits. Should we not, by such an act of violence, give color to the accusation? No, Mr. Chairman; if we are to be involved in a war with Spain, let us have the credit of disinterestedness. Let us put her yet more in the wrong. Let us command the respect which is never withheld from those who act a noble and a generous part. I hope to communicate to the committee the conviction which I so strongly feel, that the adoption of the amendment which I intend to propose, would not hazard in the slightest degree, the peace of the country. But if that peace is to be endangered, I would infinitely rather it should be for our exerting the right appertaining to every state, of acknowledging the independence of another state, than for the seizure of a province, which, sooner or later, we must certainly acquire.

* * * * *

Three hundred years ago, upon the ruins of the thrones of Montezuma and the incas of Peru, Spain erected the most stupendous system of colonial despotism that the world has ever seen—the vigorous, and most exclusive. The great principle and object of this system, has been to render one of the largest portions of the world exclusively subservient, in all its faculties, to the interests of an inconsiderable spot in Europe. To effectuate this aim of her policy, she locked up Spanish America from all the rest of the world, and prohibited, under the severest penalties, any foreigner from entering any part of it. To keep the natives themselves ignorant of each other, and of the strength and resources of the several parts of her American possessions, she next prohibited the inhabitants of one vice-royalty or government from visiting those of another; so that the inhabitants of Mexico, for example, were not allowed to enter the vice-royalty of New Granada. The agriculture of those vast regions was so regulated and restrained, as to prevent all collision with the agriculture of the peninsula. Where Nature, by the character and composition of the soil had commanded, the abominable system of Spain has forbidden, the growth of certain articles. Thus the olive and the vine, to which Spanish America is so well adapted, are prohibited, wherever their culture can interfere with the

olive and the vine of the peninsula. The commerce of the country, in the direction and objects of the exports and imports, is also subjected to the narrow and selfish views of Spain, and fettered by the odious spirit of monopoly, existing in Cadiz. She has sought by scattering discord among the several castes of American population, and by a debasing course of education, to perpetrate her oppression. Whatever concerns public law, or the science of government, all writers upon political economy, or that tend to give vigor, and freedom, and expansion, to the intellect, are prohibited. Gentlemen would be astonished by the long list of distinguished authors, whom she proscribes, to be found in Depon's and other works. A main feature in her policy, is that which constantly elevates the European and depresses the American character. Out of upwards of seven hundred and fifty viceroys and captains general, whom she has appointed since the conquest of America, about eighteen only have been from the body of the American population. On all occasions, she seeks to raise and promote her European subjects, and to degrade and humiliate the Creoles. Wherever in America her sway extends, everything seems to pine and wither beneath its baneful influence. The richest regions of the earth: man, his happiness and education, all the fine faculties of his soul, are regulated, and modified, and moulded, to suit the execrable purposes of an inexorable despotism.

Such is a brief and imperfect picture of the state of things in Spanish America, in 1808, when the famous transactions of Bayonne occurred. The King of Spain and the Indies (for Spanish America has always constituted an integral part of the Spanish Empire) abdicated his throne and became a voluntary captive. Even at this day, one does not know whether he should most condemn the baseness and perfidy of the one party, or despise the meanness and imbecility of the other. If the obligation of obedience and allegiance existed on the part of the colonies to the King of Spain, it was founded on the duty of protection which he owed them. By disqualifying himself for the performance of this duty, they became released from that obligation. The monarchy was dissolved; and each integral part had a right to seek its own happiness, by the institution of any new government adapted to its wants.

Joseph Bonaparte, the successor *de facto* of Ferdinand, recognized this right on the part of the colonies, and recommended them to establish their independence. Thus, upon the ground of strict right; upon the footing of a mere legal question, governed by forensic rules, the colonies, being absolved by the acts of the parent country from the duty of subjection to it, had an indisputable right to set up for themselves. But I take a broader and a bolder position. I maintain, that an oppressed people are authorized, whenever they can, to rise and break their fetters. This was the great principle of the English Revolution. It was the great principle of our own. Vattel, if authority were wanting, expressly supports this right. We must pass sentence of condemnation upon the founders of our liberty, say that they were rebels, traitors, and that we are at this moment legislating without competent powers, before we can condemn the cause of Spanish America. Our revolution was mainly directed against the mere theory of tyranny. We had suffered comparatively but little; we had in some respects, been kindly treated, but our intrepid and intelligent fathers saw, in the usurpation of the power to levy an inconsiderable tax, the long train of oppressive acts that were to follow. They rose, they breasted the storm; they achieved our freedom. Spanish America for centuries has been doomed to the practical effects of an odious tyranny. If we were justified, she is more than justified. I am no propagandist. I would not seek to force upon other nations our principles and our liberty, if they do not want them. I would not disturb the repose even of a detestable despotism. But, if an abused and oppressed people wish their freedom; if they seek to establish it; if, in truth, they have established it; we have a right, as a sovereign power, to notice the fact, and to act as circumstances and our interest require. I will say, in the language of the venerated father of my country, "born in a land of liberty, my anxious recollections, my sympathetic feelings, and my best wishes, are irresistibly excited, whensoever, in any country, I see an oppressed nation unfurl the banners of freedom." Whenever I think of Spanish America, the image irresistibly forces itself upon my mind, of an elder brother, whose education has been neglected, whose person has been abused and maltreated, and who has been disin-

herited by the unkindness of an unnatural parent. And, when I contemplate the glorious struggle which that country is now making, I think I behold that brother rising, by the power and energy of his fine native genius, to the manly rank which Nature, and Nature's God, intended for him.

If Spanish America be entitled to success from the justness of her cause, we have no less reason to wish that success, from the horrible character which the royal arms have given to the war. More atrocities than those which have been perpetrated during its existence, are not to be found, even in the annals of Spain herself. And history, reserving some of her blackest pages for the name of Morillo, is prepared to place him by the side of his great prototype, the infamous desolater of the Netherlands. He who has looked into the history of the conduct of this war, is constantly shocked at the revolting scenes which it portrays; at the refusal on the part of the commanders of the royal forces, to treat, on any terms, with the other side; at the denial of quarter; at the butchery, in cold blood, of prisoners; at the violation of flags in some cases, after being received with religious ceremonies; at the instigation of slaves to rise against their owners; and at acts of wanton and useless barbarity.

Neither the weakness of the other sex, or the imbecility of old age, nor the innocence of infants, nor the reverence due to the sacerdotal character, can stay the arm of royal vengeance.

* * * * *

In the establishment of the independence of Spanish America, the United States have the deepest interest. I have no hesitation in asserting my firm belief, that there is no question in the foreign policy of this country, which has ever arisen, or which I can conceive as ever occurring, in the decision of which we have had or can have so much at stake. This interest concerns our politics, our commerce, our navigation. There cannot be a doubt that Spanish America, once independent, whatever may be the form of the government established in its several parts, these governments will be animated by an American feeling, and guided by an American policy. They will obey the laws of the system of the new world, of which they will compose a part, in contradistinction to that of

Europe. Without the influence of that vortex in Europe, the balance of power between its several parts, the preservation of which has so often drenched Europe in blood, America is sufficiently remote to contemplate the new wars which are to afflict that quarter of the globe, as a calm if not a cold and indifferent spectator. In relation to those wars, the several parts of America will generally stand neutral. And as, during the period when they rage, it will be important that a liberal system of neutrality should be adopted and observed, all America will be interested in maintaining and enforcing such a system. The independence of Spanish America, then, is an interest of primary consideration. Next to that, and highly important in itself, is the consideration of the nature of their governments. That is a question, however, for themselves. They will, no doubt, adopt those kinds of governments which are best suited to their condition, best calculated for their happiness. Anxious as I am that they should be free governments we have no right to prescribe for them. They are, and ought to be, the sole judges for themselves. I am strongly inclined to believe that they will in most, if not all parts of their country, establish free governments. We are their great example. Of us they constantly speak as of brothers, having a similar origin. They adopt our principles, copy our institutions, and, in many instances, employ the very language and sentiments of our revolutionary papers.

But it is sometimes said, that they are too ignorant and too superstitious to admit of the existence of free government. This charge of ignorance is often urged by persons themselves actually ignorant of the real condition of that people. I deny the alleged fact of ignorance; I deny the inference from that fact, if it were true, that they want capacity for free government; and I refuse assent to the further conclusion, if the fact were true, and the inference just, that we are to be indifferent to their fate. All the writers of the most established authority, Depons, Humboldt, and others, concur in assigning to the people of Spanish America great quickness, genius, and particular aptitude for the acquisition of the exact sciences, and others which they have been allowed to cultivate. In astronomy, geology, mineralogy, chemistry, botany, and so forth, they are allowed to make distinguished pro-

ficiency. They justly boast of their Abzate, Velasques, and Gama, and other illustrious contributors to science. They have nine universities, and in the City of Mexico, it is affirmed by Humboldt, that there are more solid scientific establishments than in any city even of North America. I would refer to the message of the supreme dictator of La Plata, which I shall hereafter have occasion to use for another purpose, as a model of fine composition of a state paper, challenging a comparison with any, the most celebrated, that ever issued from the pens of Jefferson or Madison. Gentlemen will egregiously err, if they form their opinions of the present moral condition of Spanish America, from what it was under the debasing system of Spain. The eight years' revolution in which it has been engaged, has already produced a powerful effect. Education has been attended to, and genius developed.

The fact is not therefore true, that the imputed ignorance exists; but, if it do, I repeat, I dispute the inference. It is the doctrine of thrones, that man is too ignorant to govern himself. Their partisans assert his incapacity, in reference to all nations; if they cannot command universal assent to the proposition, it is then demanded as to particular nations; and our pride and our presumption too often make converts of us. I contend, that it is to arraign the dispositions of Providence Himself, to suppose that He has created beings incapable of governing themselves, and to be trampled on by kings. Self-government is the natural government of man, and for proof, I refer to the aborigines of our own land. Were I to speculate in hypotheses unfavorable to human liberty, my speculations should be founded rather upon the vices, refinements, or density of population. Crowded together in compact masses, even if they were philosophers, the contagion of the passion is communicated and caught, and the effect too often, I admit, is the overthrow of liberty. Dispersed over such an immense space as that on which the people of Spanish America are spread, their physical, and I believe also their moral condition, both favor their liberty.

With regard to their superstition, they worship the same God with us. Their prayers are offered up in their temples to the same Redeemer, whose intercession we expect to save us. Nor is there anything in the Catholic religion unfavorable to

freedom. All religions united with government, are more or less inimical to liberty. All separated from government, are compatible with liberty.

If the people of Spanish America have not already gone as far in religious toleration as we have, the difference in their condition from ours should not be forgotten. Everything is progressive; and, in time, I hope to see them imitating, in this respect, our example. But grant that the people of Spanish America are ignorant, and incompetent for free government, to whom is that ignorance to be ascribed? Is it not to the execrable system of Spain, which she seeks again to establish and to perpetuate? So far from chilling our hearts, it ought to increase our solicitude for our unfortunate brethren. It ought to animate us to desire the redemption of the minds and the bodies of unborn millions, from the beautifying effect of a system, whose tendency is to stifle the faculties of the soul, and to degrade men to the level of beasts. I would invoke the spirits of our departed fathers. Was it for yourselves only that you nobly fought? No, no! It was the chains that were forging for your prosperity, that made you fly to arms, and, scattering the elements of these chains to the winds, you transmitted to us the rich inheritance of liberty.

Having shown that the cause of the patriots is just, and that we have a great interest in its successful issue, I will next inquire what course of policy it becomes us to adopt. I have already declared it to be one of strict and impartial neutrality. It is not necessary for their interests, it is not expedient for our own, that we should take part in the war. All they demand of us is a just neutrality. It is compatible with this pacific policy, it is required by it that we should recognize any established government, if there be any established government in Spanish America. Recognition alone, without aid, is no just cause of war. With aid, it is; not because of the recognition, but because of the aid; as aid, without recognition, is the cause of war. The truth of these propositions I will maintain upon principle, by the practice of other states, and by the usage of our own. There is no common tribunal among nations, to pronounce upon the fact of the sovereignty of a new state. Each power does and must judge for itself. It is an attribute of sovereignty so to judge.

A nation, in exerting this incontestable right, in pronouncing upon the independence, in fact, of a new state, takes no part in the war. It gives neither men, nor ships, nor money. It merely pronounces that, in so far as it may be necessary to institute any relations, or to support any intercourse, with the new power, that power is capable of maintaining those relations, and authorizing that intercourse. Martens and other publicists lay down these principles.

When the United Provinces formally severed themselves from Spain, it was about eighty years before their independence was finally recognized by Spain. Before that recognition, the United Provinces had been received by all the rest of Europe, into the family of nations. It is true, that a war broke out between Philip and Elizabeth, but it proceeded from the aid which she determined to give, and did give to Holland. In no instance, I believe, can it be shown, from authentic history, that Spain made war upon any power, on the sole ground that such power had acknowledged the independence of the United Provinces.

In the case of our own revolution, it was not until after France had given us aid, and had determined to enter into a treaty of alliance with us—a treaty by which she guaranteed our independence—that England declared war. Holland also was charged by England with favoring our cause and deviating from the line of strict neutrality. And, when it was perceived that she was, moreover, about to enter into a treaty with us, England declared war. Even if it were shown that a proud, haughty, and powerful nation like England, had made war upon other provinces, on the ground of a mere recognition, the single example could not alter the public law, or shake the strength of a clear principle.

But what has been our uniform practice? We have constantly proceeded on the principle, that the government *de facto* is that we can alone notice. Whatever form of government any society of people adopt, whoever they acknowledge as their sovereign, we consider that government or that sovereign as the one to be acknowledged by us. We have invariably abstained from assuming a right to decide in favor of the sovereign *de jure*, and against the sovereign *de facto*. That is a question for the nation in which it arises

to determine. And, so far as we are concerned, the sovereign *de facto* is the sovereign *de jure*. Our own revolution stands on the basis of the right of the people to change their rulers. I do not maintain that every immature revolution, every usurper, before his power is consolidated, is to be acknowledged by us; but that as soon as stability and order are maintained, no matter by whom, we always have considered, and ought to consider, the actual as the true government. General Washington, Mr. Jefferson, Mr. Madison, all, while they were respectively Presidents, acted on these principles.

In the case of the French Republic, General Washington did not wait until some of the crowned heads of Europe should set him the example of acknowledging it, but accredited a minister at once. And it is remarkable, that he was received before the government of the republic was considered established. It will be found in Marshall's life of Washington, that, when it was understood that a minister from the French Republic was about to present himself, President Washington submitted a number of questions to his Cabinet for their consideration and advice; one of which was, whether, upon the reception of the minister, he should be notified that America would suspend the execution of the treaties between the two countries, until France had an established government. General Washington did not stop to inquire whether the descendants of St. Louis were to be considered as the legitimate sovereigns of France, and if the revolution was to be regarded as unauthorized resistance to their sway. He saw France, in fact, under the government of those who had subverted the throne of the Bourbons, and he acknowledged the actual government. During Mr. Jefferson's and Mr. Madison's Administrations, when the cortes of Spain and Joseph Bonaparte, respectively, contended for the crown, those enlightened statesmen said, we will receive a minister from neither party; settle the question between yourselves, and we will acknowledge the party that prevails. We have nothing to do with your feud; whoever all Spain acknowledges as her sovereign, is the only sovereign with whom we can maintain any relations. Mr. Jefferson, it is understood, considered whether he should not receive a minister from both parties, and finally decided against it, because of the inconveniences

to this country, which might result from the double representation of another power. As soon as the French armies were expelled from the peninsula, Mr. Madison, still acting on the principle of the government *de facto*, received the present minister from Spain. During all the phases of the French Government, republic, directory, consuls, consul for life, emperor, king, emperor again, king, our government has uniformly received the minister.

Are we not bound, then, upon our own principles, to acknowledge this new republic? If we do not, who will? Are we to expect that kings will set us example of acknowledging the only republic on earth, except our own? We receive, promptly receive, a minister from whatever king sends us one. From the great powers and from the little powers, we accredit ministers. We do more: we hasten to reciprocate the compliment; and anxious to manifest our gratitude for royal civility, we send for a minister (as in the case of Sweden and the Netherlands) of the lowest grade, one of the highest ranks recognized by our laws. We are the natural head of the American family. I would not intermeddle in the affairs of Europe. We wisely keep aloof from their broils. I would not even intermeddle in those of other parts of America, further than to exert the incontestable rights appertaining to us as a free, sovereign, and independent power; and I contend, that the accrediting of a minister from the new republic is such a right. We are bound to receive their minister, if we mean to be really neutral. If the royal belligerent is represented and heard at our government, the republican belligerent ought also to be heard. Otherwise, one party will be in the condition of the poor patriots, who were tried *ex-parte* the other day, in the Supreme Court, without counsel, without friends. Give Mr. Onís his *congé*, or receive the republican minister. Unless you do so, your neutrality is nominal.

Will the allies interfere? If, by the exertion of an unquestionable attribute of a sovereign power, we should give no just cause of war to Spain herself, how can it be pretended that we should furnish even a specious pretext to the allies for making war upon us? On what ground could they attempt to justify a rupture with us, for the exercise of a right which we hold in common with them, and with every

other independent state? But we have a surer guarantee, against their hostility, in their interests. That all the allies, who have any foreign commerce, have an interest in the independence of Spanish America, is perfectly evident. On what ground, I ask, is it likely, then, that they would support Spain, in opposition to their own decided interests? To crush the spirit of revolt, and prevent the progress of free principles? Nations, like individuals, do not sensibly feel, and seldom act upon dangers which are either remote in time or place. Of Spanish America, but little is known by the great body of the population of Europe. Even in this country, the most astonishing ignorance prevails respecting it. Those European statesmen who are acquainted with the country, will reflect, that, tossed by a great revolution, it will most probably constitute four or five several nations, and that the ultimate modification of all their various governments is by no means absolutely certain.

But I entertain no doubt that the principle of cohesion among the allies is gone. It was annihilated in the memorable battle of Waterloo. When the question was, whether one should engross all, a common danger united all. How long was it, even with a clear perception of that danger, before an effective coalition could be formed? How often did one power stand by, unmoved and indifferent to the fate of its neighbor, although the destruction of that neighbor removed the only barrier to an attack upon itself? No; the consummation of the cause of the allies was, and all the history and all experience will prove it, the destruction of the alliance. The principle is totally changed. It is no longer a common struggle against the colossal power of Bonaparte, but it has become a common scramble for the spoils of his empire. There may, indeed, be one or two points on which a common interest still exists, such as the convenience of subsisting their armies on the vitals of poor suffering France. But as for action, for new enterprises, there is no principle of unity, there can be no accordance of interests, or of views, among them.

There is great reason, from the peculiar character of the American government, for a perfect understanding between the legislative and executive branches, in relation to the acknowl-

edgment of a new power. Everywhere else the power of declaring war resides with the executive. Here it is deposited with the Legislature. If, contrary to my opinion, there be even a risk that the acknowledgment of a new state may lead to war, it is advisable that the step should not be taken without a previous knowledge of the will of the war-making branch. I am disposed to give to the President all the confidence which we must derive from the unequivocal expression of our will. This expression I know may be given in the form of an abstract resolution, declaratory of that will; but I prefer at this time proposing an act of practical legislation. And if I have been so fortunate as to communicate to the committee, in anything like that degree of strength in which I entertain them, the convictions that the cause of the patriots is just; that the character of the war, as waged by Spain, should induce us to wish them success; that we have a great interest in that success; that this interest as well as our neutral attitude, requires us to acknowledge any established government in Spanish America; that the United Provinces of the river Plate is such a government; that we may safely acknowledge its independence, without danger of war from Spain, from the allies, or from England; and that, without unconstitutional interference with the executive power, with peculiar fitness, we may express in an act of appropriation, our sentiments, leaving him to the exercise of a just and responsible discretion; I hope the committee will adopt the proposition which I have now the honor of presenting to them, after a respectful tender of my acknowledgments for their attention and kindness, during, I fear, the tedious period I have been so unprofitably trespassing upon their patience.

ON RETIRING FROM OFFICE

At Washington, March 7, 1829.

At the close of Mr. Adam's administration, Mr. Clay, having resigned his office as Secretary of State before the inauguration of General Jackson as President of the United States, was invited to meet his friends at Washington City, at a public dinner, which he accepted, while preparing to return to the place of his residence. On this occasion the toast was: "Health, prosperity and happiness, to our valued and esteemed guest and fellow-citizen, HENRY CLAY. Whatever the future destination of his life, he has done enough for honor, and need desire no higher reward than the deep-seated affection and respect of his friends and his country."

This having been received with much feeling and applause, Mr. Clay arose and addressed the company as follows.*

IN rising, Mr. President, to offer my respectful acknowledgments for the honors of which I am here the object, I must ask the indulgence of yourself and the other gentlemen now assembled, for an unaffected embarrassment, which is more sensibly felt than it can be distinctly expressed. This city has been the theatre of the greater portion of my public life. You, and others whom I now see, have been spectators of my public course and conduct. You and they are, if I may borrow a technical expression from an honorable profession of which you and I are both members, jurors of the vicinage. To a judgment rendered by those who have thus long known me, and by others though not of the panel, who have possessed equal opportunities of forming correct opinions, I most cheerfully submit. If the weight of human testimony should be estimated by the intelligence and respectability of the witness, and the extent of his knowledge of the matter on which he testifies, the highest consideration is due to that which has been this day spontaneously given. I shall ever cherish it with the most grateful recollection, and look back upon it with proud satisfaction.

I should be glad to feel that I could with any propriety abstain from any allusion at this time and at this place, to public affairs. But considering the occasion which has

*From Mallory's 'Life of Henry Clay.'

brought us together, the events which have preceded it, and the influence which they may exert upon the destinies of our country, my silence might be misinterpreted, and I think it therefore proper that I should embrace this first public opportunity which I have had of saying a few words, since the termination of the late memorable and embittered contest. It is far from my wish to continue or to revive the agitation with which that contest was attended. It is ended, for good or for evil. The Nation wants repose. A majority of the people has decided, and from their decision there can and ought to be no appeal. Bowing, as I do, with profound respect to them, and to this exercise of their sovereign authority, I may nevertheless be allowed to retain and to express my own unchanged sentiments, even if they should not be in perfect coincidence with theirs. It is a source of high gratification to me to believe that I share these sentiments in common with more than half a million of freemen, possessing a degree of virtue, of intelligence, of religion, and of genuine patriotism, which without disparagement to others, is unsurpassed, in the same number of men in this or any other country, in this or any other age.

I deprecated the election of the present President of the United States, because I believe he had neither the temper, the experience, nor the attainments requisite to discharge the complicated and arduous duties of chief magistrate. I deprecated it still more, because this elevation, I believed, would be the result exclusively of admiration and gratitude for military service, without regard to indispensable civil qualifications. I can neither retract, nor alter, nor modify, any opinion which, on these subjects, I have at any time heretofore expressed. I thought I beheld in his election an awful foreboding of the fate which, at some future (I pray to God that, if it ever arrive, it may be some far distant) day, was to befall this infant republic. All past history has impressed on my mind this solemn apprehension. Nor is it effaced or weakened by contemporaneous events passing upon our own favored continent. It is remarkable that, at this epoch, at the head of eight of the nine independent governments established in both Americas, military officers have been placed, or have placed themselves. General Lavalle has, by military force, sub-

verted the republic of La Plata. General Santa Cruz is the chief magistrate of Bolivia; Colonel Pinto of Chili; General Lamar of Peru; and General Bolivar of Colombia. Central America, rent in pieces, and bleeding at every pore, from wounds inflicted by contending military factions, is under the alternate sway of their chiefs. In the government of our nearest neighbor, an election, conducted according to all the requirements of their constitution, has terminated with a majority of the states in favor of Pedrazza, the civil candidate. An insurrection was raised in behalf of his military rival; the cry, not exactly of a bargain, but of corruption, was sounded; the election was annulled, and a form effected by proclaiming General Guerrero, having only a minority of the states, duly elected President. The thunders from the surrounding forts, and the acclamations of the assembled multitude, on the fourth, told us what general was at the head of affairs. It is true, and in this respect we are happier than some of the Amercian states, that his election has not been brought about by military violence. The forms of the Constitution have yet remained inviolate.

In reasserting the opinions which I hold, nothing is further from my purpose than to treat with the slightest disrespect those of my fellow-citizens, here or elsewhere, who may entertain opposite sentiments. The fact of claiming and exercising the free and independent expression of the dictates of my own deliberate judgment, affords the strongest guarantee of my full recognition of their corresponding privilege.

A majority of my fellow-citizens, it would seem, do not perceive the dangers which I apprehended from the example. Believing that they were not real, or that we have some security against their effect, which ancient and modern republics have not found, that majority, in the exercise of their incontestable right of suffrage, have chosen for chief magistrate a citizen who brings into that high trust no qualification other than military triumphs.

That citizen has done much injustice—wanton, unprovoked, and unatoned injustice. It was inflicted, as I must ever believe, for the double purpose of gratifying private resentment and promoting personal ambition. When, during the late canvass, he came forward in the public prints under

his proper name, with his charge against me, and summoned before the public tribunal his friends and his only witness to establish it, the anxious attention of the whole American people was directed to the testimony which that witness might render. He promptly obeyed the call and testified to what he knew. He could say nothing, and he said nothing, which cast the slightest shade upon my honor or integrity. What he did say was the reverse of any implication of me. Then all just and impartial men, and all who had faith in the magnanimity of my accuser, believed that he would voluntarily make a public acknowledgment of his error. How far this reasonable expectation has been fulfilled, let his persevering and stubborn silence attest. But my relations to that citizen by a recent event are now changed. He is the chief magistrate of my country, invested with large and extensive powers, the administration of which may conduce to its prosperity or occasion its adversity. Patriotism enjoins as a duty that whilst he is in that exalted station, he should be treated with decorum, and his official acts be judged of in a spirit of candor. Suppressing, as far as I can, a sense of my personal wrong; willing even to forgive him, if his own conscience and our common God can acquit him; and entertaining for the majority which has elected him, and for the office which he fills, all the deference which is due from a private citizen; I most anxiously hope, that under his guidance the great interest of our country, foreign and domestic, may be upheld, our free institutions be unimpaired, and the happiness of the Nation be continued and increased.

While I am prompted by an ardent devotion to the welfare of my country, sincerely to express this hope, I make no pledges, no promises, no threats, and I must add, I have no confidence. My public life, I trust, furnishes the best guarantee for my faithful adherence to those great principles of external and internal policy, to which it has been hitherto zealously dedicated. Whether I shall ever hereafter take any part in the public councils or not, depends upon circumstances beyond my control. Holding the principle that a citizen, as long as a single pulsation remains, is under an obligation to exert his utmost energies in the service of his country, if necessary, whether in private or public station, my friends,

here and everywhere, may rest assured that, in either condition, I shall stand erect, with a spirit unconquered, whilst life endures, ready to second their exertions in the cause of liberty, the Union and the national prosperity.

Before I sit down, I avail myself with pleasure of this opportunity to make my grateful acknowledgments, for the courtesies and friendly attention which I have uniformly experienced from the inhabitants of this city. A free and social intercourse with them, during a period of more than twenty years, is about to terminate, without any recollection on my part of a single painful collision, and without leaving behind me, as far as I know, a solitary personal enemy. If, in the sentiment with which I am about to conclude, I do not give a particular expression to the feelings inspired by the interchange of civilities and friendly offices, I hope the citizens of Washington will be assured that their individual happiness and the prosperity of this city will ever be the object of my fervent wishes. In the sentiment which I shall presently offer, they are indeed comprehended. For the welfare of this city is indissolubly associated with that of our Union, and the preservation of our liberty. I request permission to propose: "LET US NEVER DESPAIR OF THE AMERICAN REPUBLIC!"

THE COMPROMISE OF 1850

On a former occasion, when Missouri knocked at the door of Congress for admission, she stirred up the strongest passion for and against slavery.

Mr. Clay stepped in with his Compromise, in 1821, and stilled the waves which rolled in fearful volumes over the wide surface of the Republic.

When nullification raged in the South, in 1833, again Mr. Clay came forward with his Compromise, restoring tranquillity and contentment.

The last great effort of Mr. Clay's public life was made when he brought forward, in the United States Senate, January 29, 1850, his famed resolutions for Compromise.

It being desirable for the peace, concord, and harmony of the union of these states to settle and adjust amicably all existing questions of controversy between them arising out of

the institution of slavery, upon a fair, equitable, and just basis; therefore:

1st. *Resolved*, That California, with suitable boundaries, ought, upon her application, to be admitted as one of the states of this Union, without the imposition by Congress of any restriction in respect to the exclusion or introduction of slavery within those boundaries.

2nd. *Resolved*, That as slavery does not exist by law, and is not likely to be introduced into any of the territory acquired by the United States from the Republic of Mexico, it is inexpedient for Congress to provide, by law, either for its introduction into, or exclusion from, any part of the said territory; and that appropriate territorial governments ought to be established by Congress in all of the said territory, not assigned as the boundaries of the proposed State of California, without the addition of any restriction or condition on the subject of slavery.

3rd. *Resolved*, That the western boundary of the State of Texas ought to be fixed on the Rio del Norte, commencing one marine league from its mouth, and running up that river to the southern line of New Mexico, then with that line eastwardly, and continuing in the same direction, to the line as established between the United States and Spain, excluding any portion of New Mexico, whether lying on the east or west of that river.

4th. *Resolved*, That it be proposed to the State of Texas that the United States will provide for the payment of all that portion of all the legitimate and bona fide public debt of that State, contracted prior to its annexation to the United States, and for which the duties on foreign imports were pledged by the said State to its creditors, not exceeding the sum of — dollars, in consideration of the duties, as pledged, having been no longer applicable to that object after the said annexation, but having thenceforward become payable to the United States, and upon the condition also that the said State shall, by some solemn and authentic act of her Legislature, or of a convention, relinquish to the United States any claim which it has to any part of New Mexico.

5th. *Resolved*, That it is inexpedient to abolish slavery in the District of Columbia, while that institution continues

to exist in the State of Maryland, without the consent of that State, without the consent of the people of the District, and without just compensation to the owners of slaves within the district.

6th. *Resolved*, That it is expedient to prohibit within the District the trade in slaves brought into it from states or places beyond the limits of the District, either to be sold therein, as merchandise, or to be transported to other markets, without the District of Columbia.

7th. *Resolved*, That more effectual provision ought to be made by the law, according to the requirements of the Constitution, for the restitution and delivery of persons bound to service or labor in any state who may escape into any other state or territory of the Union.

8th. *Resolved*, That Congress has no power to prohibit or obstruct the trade in slaves between the slaveholding states, and that the admission or exclusion of slaves brought from one into another of them, depends exclusively upon their own particular law.

Mr. President, you have before you the whole series of resolutions, the whole scheme of arrangement and accommodation of these distracting questions, which I have to offer after having bestowed on these subjects the most anxious, intensely anxious, consideration ever since I have been in this body. How far it may prove acceptable to both or either of the parties on these great questions, it is not for me to say. I think it ought to be acceptable to both. There is no sacrifice of any principle, proposed in any of them, by either party. The plan is founded upon mutual forbearance, originating in a spirit of reconciliation and concession; not of principles, but of matters of feeling. At the North, sir, I know that from feeling, by many at least cherished as being dictated by consideration of humanity and philanthropy, there exists a sentiment adverse to the institutions of slavery.

Sir, I might, I think—although I believe this project contains about an equal amount of concession and forbearance on both sides—have asked from the free states of the North a more liberal and extensive concession than should be asked from the slave states. And why, sir? With you, gentlemen senators of the free states, what is it? An abstraction,

a sentiment—a sentiment, if you please, of humanity and philanthropy—a noble sentiment, when directed rightly, with no sinister or party purposes; an atrocious sentiment—a detestable sentiment—or rather the abuse of it—when directed to the accomplishment of unworthy purposes. I said that I might ask from you larger and more expansive concessions than from the slave states. And why? You are numerically more powerful than the slave states. Not that there is any difference—for upon that subject I can not go along with the ardent expression of feeling by some of my friends coming from the same class of states from which I come—not that there is any difference in valor, in prowess, in noble and patriotic daring, whenever it is required for the safety and salvation of the country, between the people of one class of states and those of the other. You are, in point of numbers, however, greater; and greatness and magnanimity should ever be allied.

But there are other reasons why concessions upon such a subject as this should be more liberal, more expansive coming from the free than from the slave states. It is, as I remarked, a sentiment, a sentiment of humanity and philanthropy on your side. Aye sir, and when a sentiment of that kind is honestly and earnestly cherished, with a disposition to make sacrifices to enforce it, it is a noble and beautiful sentiment; but, sir, when the sacrifice is not to be made by those who cherish that sentiment and inculcate it, but by another people, in whose situation it is impossible, from their position, to sympathize and to share all and everything that belongs to them, I must say to you, senators from the free states, it is a totally different question. On your side it is a sentiment without sacrifice, a sentiment without danger, a sentiment without hazard, without peril, without loss. But how is it on the other side, to which, as I have said, a greater amount of concession ought to be made in any scheme of compromise?

* * * * *

And, in conclusion, I now ask every senator, I entreat you, gentlemen, in fairness and candor, to examine the plan of accommodation which this series of resolutions proposes, and not to pronounce against them until convinced after a thorough

examination. I move that the resolutions be read and received.

* * * * *

(These resolutions were the subject of many great debates which continued, at intervals, for several months. The following extract is from Mr. Clay's speech delivered February 5, 1850.)

Mr. President, never on any former occasion have I risen under feelings of such painful solicitude. I have seen many periods of great anxiety, of peril, and of danger in this country, and I have never before risen to address any assemblage so oppressed, so appalled, and so anxious; and sir, I hope it will not be out of place to do here, what again and again I have done in my private chamber, to implore of Him who holds the destinies of nations and individuals in His hands, to bestow upon our country His blessing, to calm the violence and rage of party, to still passion, to allow reason once more to resume its empire. And may I not ask of Him too, sir, to bestow on His humble servant, now before Him, the blessing of His smiles, and of strength and ability to perform the work which now lies before him? Sir, I have said that I have seen other anxious periods in history of our country, and if I were to venture, Mr. President, to trace to their original source the cause of all our present dangers, difficulties, and distraction, I should ascribe it to the violence and intemperance of party spirit. To party spirit! Sir, in the progress of this session we have had the testimony of two senators here, who, however they may differ on other matters, concur in the existence of that cause in originating the unhappy differences which prevail throughout the country, on the subject of the institution of slavery.

Sir, what vicissitudes do we not pass through in this short mortal career of ours? Eight years, nor nearly eight years ago, I took my leave finally, and, as I supposed, forever from this body. At that time I did not conceive of the possibility of ever again returning to it. And if my private wishes and particular inclinations, and the desire during the short remnant of my days to remain in repose and quiet, could have prevailed, you would never have seen me occupying the seat which I now occupy upon this floor. The Legislature of the state to which I belong, unsolicited by me, chose to designate

me for this station, and I have come here, sir, in obedience to a sense of stern duty, with no personal objects, no private views, now or hereafter, to gratify. I know, sir, the jealousies, the fears, the apprehensions which are engendered by the existence of that party spirit to which I have referred; but if there be in my hearing now, in or out of this capitol, any one who hopes, in his race for honors and elevation, for higher honors and higher elevation than that which he now occupies, I beg him to believe that I, at least, will never jostle him in the pursuit of those honors or that elevation. I beg him to be perfectly persuaded that, if my wishes prevail, my name shall never be used in competition with his. I beg to assure him that when my service is terminated in this body, my mission, so far as respects the public affairs of this world and upon this earth, is closed, and closed, if my wishes prevail, forever.

But, sir, it is impossible for us to be blind to the facts which are daily transpiring before us. It is impossible for us not to perceive that party spirit and future elevation mix more or less in all our affairs, in all our deliberations. At a moment when the White House itself is in danger of conflagration, instead of all hands uniting to extinguish the flames, we are contending about who shall be next occupant. When a dreadful *crevasse* has occurred which threatens inundation and destruction to all around it, we are contending and disputing about the profits of an estate which is threatened with total submersion.

Mr. President, it is passion, passion—party, party intemperance—that is all I dread in the adjustment of the great questions which unhappily at this time divide our distracted country. Sir, at this moment we have in the legislative bodies of this Capitol and in the states, twenty odd furnaces in full blast, emitting heat, and passion, and intemperance, and diffusing them throughout the whole extent of this broad land. Two months ago all was calm in comparison to the present moment. All now is uproar, confusion, and menace to the existence of the Union, and to the happiness and safety of this people. Sir, I implore senators, I entreat them, by all that they expect hereafter, and by all that is dear to them here below, to repress the ardor of these passions, to look to their

country, to its interests, to listen to the voice of reason—not as it shall be attempted to be uttered by me, for I am not so presumptuous as to indulge the hope that anything I may say will avert the effects which I have described, but to listen to their own reason, their own judgment, their own good sense, in determining upon what is best to be done for our country in the actual posture in which we find her. Sir, to this great object have my efforts been directed during the whole session.

I have cut myself off from all the usual enjoyments of social life, I have confined myself almost entirely, with very few exceptions, to my own chamber, and from the beginning of the session to the present time my thoughts have been anxiously directed to the object of finding some plan, of proposing some mode of accommodation, which would once more restore the blessings of concord, harmony and peace to this great country. I am not vain enough to suppose that I have been successful in the accomplishment of this object, but I have presented a scheme, and allow me to say to the honorable senators that, if they find in that plan anything that is defective, if they find anything that is worthy of acceptance, but is susceptible of improvement by amendment, it seems to me that the true and patriotic course is not to denounce it, but to improve it—not to reject without examination any project of accommodation having for its object the restoration of harmony in this country, but to look at it to see if it be susceptible of elaboration or improvement, so as to accomplish the object which I indulge the hope is common to all and every one of us, to restore peace and quiet, and harmony and happiness to this country.

Sir, when I came to consider this subject, there were two or three general purposes which it seemed to me to be most desirable, if possible, to accomplish. The one was, to settle all the controverted questions arising out of the subject of slavery. It seems to me to be doing very little, if we stopped one leak only in the ship of state, and left other leaks capable of producing danger, if not destruction, to the vessel. I therefore turned my attention to every subject connected with the institution of slavery, and out of which controverted questions had sprung to see if it were possible or practicable to accommodate and adjust the whole of them. Another principal object which attracted my attention was, to endeavor to form

such a scheme of accommodation that neither of the two classes of states into which our country is so unhappily divided should make any sacrifice of any great principle. I believe, sir, the series of resolutions which I have had the honor to present to the Senate accomplishes that object.

Sir, another purpose which I had in view was this: I was aware of the difference of opinion prevailing between these two classes of state. I was aware that, while one portion of the Union was pushing matters, as it seemed to me, to the greatest extremity, another portion of the Union was pushing them to an opposite, perhaps not less dangerous extremity. It appeared to me, then, that if any arrangement, any satisfactory adjustment could be made of the controverted questions between the two classes of states, that adjustment, that arrangement, could only be successful and effectual by extracting from both parties some concessions—not of principle, not of principle at all, but of feeling, of opinion, in relation to matters in controversy between them. Sir, I believe the resolutions which I have prepared fulfill that object. I believe, sir, that you will find, upon that careful, rational, and attentive examination of them which I think they deserve, that neither party in some of them make any concession at all; in others the concessions of forbearance are mutual; and in the third place, in reference to the slaveholding states, there are some resolutions making concessions to them by opposite class of states, without any compensation whatever being rendered by them to the non-slaveholding states. I think every one of these characteristics which I have assigned, and the measures which I proposed, is susceptible of clear and satisfactory demonstration by an attentive perusal and critical examination of the resolutions themselves.

(On the thirteenth of May, 1850, Mr. Clay went at large into an exposition of the report of the Committee of Thirteen. The following are extracts from his speech on that occasion.)

Mr. President, I am not discouraged by anything that has transpired in the Committee or in the Senate, or in the country, upon the subject of this measure. I have believed from the first, and yet I have firmly believed, that, if these unhappy subjects which have divided the country are to be accommo-

dated by an amicable adjustment, it must be upon some such basis as that which the Committee (of Thirteen) have reported; and can there be a doubt on the mind of any honorable senator on this subject? Sir, I believe that the crisis of the crisis has arrived; and the fate of the measures which have been reported by the Committee will, in my humble judgment, determine the question of the harmony or continued distraction of the country. Entertaining this belief, I cannot but indulge the hope that honorable senators, who, upon the first hearing of the report, might have seen some matters in it objectionable, according to their wishes and judgment, and that the entire Senate, after a full consideration of the plan, and after a fair contrast between it and all the other proposed plans, and all the other practicable plans for the adjustment of these questions—whatever expectations and hopes may have been announced elsewhere out of this body—will ultimately give it a general concurrence.

The minds of men have moderated; passion has given place to reason everywhere. Everywhere, in all parts of the Union, there is a demand—a demand, I trust, the force and effect of which will be felt in both Houses of Congress—for an amicable adjustment of these questions, for the relinquishment of those extreme opinions, whether entertained on the one side or the other, and coming together once more as friends, as brethren, living in a common country, and enjoying the benefits of freedom and happiness flowing from a common government.

Sir, I think, if the President had this time to make a recommendation to Congress, with all the lights that have been shed upon the subject since the commencement of this session of Congress, nearly five months ago, he would not limit himself to a recommendation merely for the admission of California, leaving the territories to shift for themselves as they could or might. He tells us in one of those messages, that he had reason to believe that one of the territories, at least New Mexico, might possibly form a state government for herself, and might come here with an application for admission during the progress of this session. But we have no evidence that such an event is about to happen; and if it did, could New Mexico be admitted as a state? At all events, there has been such a change of circumstances since the message was sent in,

that I cannot but believe that the gentleman who now presides at the head of our public affairs, if he had had the benefit of all these lights, would have made the recommendation much more comprehensive, and much more general and healing in its character, than a simple recommendation for the admission of California, leaving all the other questions unsettled and open, to exasperate the feelings of parties.

* * * * *

On all subjects of this kind, we must deal fairly and honestly by all. We must recollect that there are prejudices, and feelings, and interests, and sympathies, on both sides of the question; and no man who ever brought his mind seriously to the consideration of a suitable measure for the recapture of runaway slaves, can fail to admit that the question is surrounded with great difficulties. . . . In the slaveholding states the rule is, that color implies slavery, and the *onus probandi* of freedom is thrown on the person claiming it. On the contrary, in the free states, the *onus* is shifted, and the fact of slavery must be proved. Every man of color in the free states is regarded as free; and when he is claimed as a slave, the feelings of the people are naturally excited in his favor. We all respect these feelings. There is one opinion prevailing which nothing that we can do will conciliate. I allude to that opinion which asserts that there is a higher law—a Divine law—a natural law—which entitles a man, under whose roof a runaway slave has come, to give him assistance, and succor, and hospitality. Where is the difference between receiving and harboring a known fugitive slave, and going to the plantation of his master and stealing him away? And who are they that venture to tell us what is Divine and what is natural law? Where are their credentials? Why, sir, we are told, that the other day, at a meeting of some of those people at New York, Moses and all the prophets were rejected, and Christ blasphemed! If Moses and the prophets, and our Saviour are to be rejected, will they condescend to show us their authority for this new Divine law? The law of Nature, sir? Look at it, as it is promulgated, and attempted to be enforced, in some parts of the world. There is a large class who say, that if a man has acquired a large estate by his own exertions, or by inheritance, they are entitled by law of Nature to have a por-

tion of it. Another modern law of Nature is, that the possession of more land than you can cultivate, is a forbidden monopoly. Heaven supersedes the parchment from Government! Wild, reckless, and abominable theories, which strike at the foundation of all property and threaten to crush in ruins the fabric of civilization!

The Committee, in considering this delicate subject, and looking at the feelings and interests of both sides of the question, thought it best to offer these two provisions—that which requires the production of a record in the non-slaveholding states, and that which requires a bond to grant to the real claimant of his freedom a trial by jury in the place where that trial ought to take place, according to a just interpretation of the Constitution of the United States. Therefore, in order to obviate the difficulties which have been presented, and to satisfy the prejudices of the non-slaveholding states, we propose to give the fugitive the right of trial by jury in the state from which he fled.

I believe the first man in my life that I ever heard denounce that trade, was a Southern man—John Randolph of Roanoke. I believe there has been no time within the last forty years, when, if earnestly pressed upon Congress, there would not have been found a majority—perhaps a majority from the slaveholding states themselves—in favor of the abolition of slave-trade in this District. The bill which the Committee has reported is founded upon the law of Maryland, as it existed when this District was set apart and ceded to the United States.

Sir, some years ago it would have been thought a great concession to the feelings and wishes of the North, to abolish this slave-trade. Now, I have seen some of the rabid Abolition presses denouncing it as amounting to nothing. It is nothing that slavery is interdicted in California. They do not care for all that. . . . At the beginning of this session, as you know, that offensive proposal, called the Wilmot Proviso, was what was most apprehended, and what all the slaveholding states were most desirous of getting rid of. Well, sir, by the operation of causes upon the Northern mind friendly to the Union, hopes were inspired which I trust will not be frustrated in the progress of this measure, that the North, or at least

a sufficient portion of the North, are now willing to dispense with the Proviso.

* * * * *

Mr. President, after we have got rid, as I had hoped, of all these troubles—after this Wilmot Proviso has disappeared, as I trust it may, both in this and in the other end of the Capitol—what are the new difficulties that spring up around us? Matters of form. The purest question of form that was ever presented to the mind of man—whether we shall combine in one united bill three measures, all of which are necessary and homogeneous; or separate them into three distinct bills, passing each in its turn, if it can be done.

Mr. President, I trust that the feelings of attachment to the Union, of love for its past glory, of anticipation of its future benefits and happiness; a fraternal feeling which ought to be common throughout all parts of the country; the desire to live together in peace and harmony; to prosper as we have prospered heretofore; to hold up to the civilized world the example of our great and glorious Republic fulfilling the high destiny that belongs to it, demonstrating beyond all doubt, man's capacity for self-government—these motives and these considerations will, I confidently hope, and fervently pray, animate us all, bringing us together, to dismiss alike all questions of abstraction and mere form, and consummating the act of concord, harmony, and peace, in such a manner as to heal not one only, but all the wounds of the country.

VIRGINIA WOODWARD CLOUD

[18 —]

ELLEN DUVALL

VIRGINIA WOODWARD CLOUD, the daughter of Daniel Cloud, president of the Maryland Savings Bank of Baltimore, and of Maria Louisa Woodward, was born in Baltimore, Maryland, and has always lived there. Her father's family is from Virginia, her mother's from Maryland, and both are of the Colonial and Revolutionary stock that carries with it a certain social atmosphere and those literary traditions which are bound to color and form somewhat a writer's work. Of a life sketch in the ordinary sense, however, Miss Cloud herself half humorously says, "Concerning a biographical sketch, I am in despair. What is there to say? Nothing. I have simply lived. And of the daily invisible life-processes we are seldom ourselves aware." She was educated at private schools in Baltimore.

From a branch of her mother's family, Miss Cloud probably inherits her great talent for music, part and parcel of her poetic faculty; and from her father's that gift of the pen which is equally skilful in prose and verse. Poetry is the poet's vital air, and rhymes may and do come naturally; but no really good poetry ever comes easily, and while a spontaneous writer, Miss Cloud is also a very careful worker. She is her own most exacting critic, both of her stories and her verse, and is ever ready to use the mental file and polisher. Perfection, not "faultily faultless, splendidly null," but the rich, suggestive perfection of Nature, the spiral, not the completed round, has been her unconscious aim.

Miss Cloud's first volume of verse, a collection of unique ballads, 'Down Durley Lane,' was published by the Century Company in 1898. The fine illustrations for these ballads are by Mr. Reginald B. Birch. The next volume, a short collection, called 'A Reed by the River,' was published by the Gorham Press, Boston, 1902. Yet these two interesting books comprise comparatively little of what Miss Cloud has done. Her work began first to appear in 1893-1894, and may be found in the leading periodicals since that time.

To estimate the essential value of poetry is somewhat like estimating the value of sunlight and fresh air—things impalpable, yet necessary to human life and happiness. And in our day, which sees so

much good literary work, it is particularly difficult to assign to a given poet his proper niche. This may not be an age of literary genius, true, for the main strength of the human mind has been poured into other channels. Science and the mechanic arts have to-day absorbed much of that fulness of mental vigor which, in the age of the schoolmen, was expressed in speculative philosophy; and in the "spacious times of great Elizabeth," flowered out into heroic enterprise on the one hand, and into dramatic literature on the other. But no age has had more sympathy for life in general and in particular than has ours, none has tried more faithfully and fully to embody in its literature its life. For we can scarcely take up any of the better current magazines without being impressed by the literary merit of both prose and verse. The short story, as a literary art form, has been well-nigh perfected, and the many examples of lyric verses are not far behind. There are poets and poets, of course, for the poets differ among themselves as do the stars in glory. Each has his particular gift of vision and expression, each his peculiar quality; and if much of the prose and verse of this age is tentative, if the plaintive and minor key is over-emphasized, still there is exquisite pleasure in the same gradations of one color, say, in the gray day, the gray sky, the gray sea.

There is an immense difference, however, between enduring life patiently, and enjoying life rapturously; between making the best of what we have, and believing that we do or may possess the best in all things. Not until there comes another great age of faith will there be another sunburst of true poetic energy, when men shall again sing mighty songs. But signs are not wanting that there will come again such an age of noble faith in God and man; and meanwhile, let us be glad of what is, and let us do justice to the high merit of to-day. Browning, at all events, has expressed the ecstasy of living, and in this respect some of the lesser poets are not far behind.

Miss Cloud is among them. Her prose and verse are full of this deep joy in life, this instinctive rapture in the presence of Nature and of man.

"Love shall live for its own sweet sake,
Song shall sing but for song alone;
All do they yield, and nothing take,
Nor claim a part for their own."

Sainte-Beuve's significant saying, "*Où il n'y a point de délicatesse, il n'y a point de littérature*," is well exemplified by Miss Cloud's verse. Delicacy and endurance, fineness and strength, sureness of touch and swiftness of execution, grace, and a quivering sensitiveness to the

aspects of external nature—these are her most marked qualities. She has that deep, unconscious love of earth, sea and sky which is so different from the modern cult of Nature as an antidote to or an antithesis of man. For the true poet feels that "Man's and Nature's heart is one." The old eternal truths, which are the ever-new truths, are her inspiration and her theme. She conceives of God, of Man, of the Soul, as being the perennial sources of life's interest, the alpha and omega of the poetic vision. If she is a minor poet, she at least loves and values life as only the great poets do—as an ineffable gift, implying

"A rapture that never in words shall rise,
And never in tears shall fall."

None may look upon the human heart direct and unveiled: such a sight would be too much for mortal eyes, and would have the effect of the Medusa. But poetry is that living stream upon which the human heart is mirrored, and upon this reflection we may always safely gaze. So of course, like all the poets, Miss Cloud sings of love and lovers, and some of her finest and subtlest poems are upon the world-old theme.

And yet of all earth's millions the poets are the most solitary. For the gift of poesy means the gift of solitude. In a sense, the true poets have no contemporaries, and whatever the value of their particular song to their particular generation, it wells out of a sequestered heart. All of them feel this, all have more or less expressed it. They are affined to the universal heart, to the universal spirit, and therefore do they forever focus life anew and give it forth in fresh forms of creative energy. This solitude which is the still-brooding life of the imagination, is part of the basic feeling and thought of much of Miss Cloud's verse.

In turning over the small book, 'A Reed by the River,' one is not at first impressed by its range; but a close consideration shows how many phases of feeling are embodied, how many aspects of nature are revealed. That windblown quality of all true verse, a rhythm that recurs yet eludes, that haunts yet escapes, is noticeable throughout Miss Cloud's poetry. It all sings and dances as leaves in the wind, and suggests far more than is ever expressed. Indeed, few poets of to-day convey a greater sense of reserve, and at the same time give a finer feeling of throbbing life.

Miss Cloud has so obviously the lyric gift, her work seems so easy, inevitable, and spontaneous, that one does not immediately realize another side of her genius as seen in the firm texture and fine form of the all too few sonnets. For while the outward form of the sonnet

is invariable, its inward grace of structure is susceptible of great variety. And the sonnet is one of the ultimate tests of the poetic faculty. It may be the poet's poem, but is also the poet's crown; and to achieve distinction both in the lyric and in the sonnet is no small honor. The one beginning, "From the sweet hazard of my deep desire," in its grace, directness and simplicity of expression, may take rank with the best of modern sonnets.

Of the longer poems in this book, 'A Reed by the River,' perhaps "The Witch" is the best, though for color and movement, swinging rhyme and dramatic effect, "The Low-Shore Lass" is very striking. "Leisurely Lane," perhaps the best known and most popular of Miss Cloud's poems, has had the good fortune to appeal to all hearts, and to win a wide and varied hearing. Almost everything that can befall a poem has happened to this one. It has been found in lonely mountain cabins and in prairie homes, in hospitals, and in prisons—sure sign that the general heart has been touched. "Leisurely Lane" has been set to music, as have also, "Love Looked Back," "Let Me Believe," "The Gate," and "Balm." The "Ballad of Sweet P.," almost a little one-act play full of color and action, lends itself so irresistibly to reading and impersonation, that it has proved very popular, and has been, by the author's special permission, incorporated in many dramatic collections.

'The Reed by the River,' however, unlike Miss Cloud's prose tales, and 'Down Durley Lane,' shows nothing of one of her most delightful qualities—humor, a perpetually fresh and sparkling spring. 'Down Durley Lane' is unique in that, intended originally for children, it pleased the immortal child in us all. It holds the humor of common things, of everyday life and character, all centered in a little Eighteenth Century English village that we seem to have known and loved in a dream. True ballads—something that takes life upon its face value—are rare; and since John Gilpin there have been no ballads better than the first, "Down Durley Lane," and "The En-viable Errand of Master Merrivein." "Down Durley Lane" is distinctly original; it holds the universal in the particular, which, to have accomplished, is to have waved the magic wand of genius.

And this brings us naturally to her prose stories which contain so much of her work, and which are the other side of her shield. No one knows better than Miss Cloud the technical requirements of the short story, nor its manifold possibilities. That she has not done more along this line is due perhaps, to the preponderance of the poetic gift. Her keen eye for all sorts and conditions of men gives an unusual scope to her stories, and from Romance to Realism she easily runs the gamut. Among the best of the realistic tales are the

Marrow Stories, in which the homespun of life is sun-touched with a humor that warms and cheers us all, the blessed humor that makes the whole world kin. And no one has used more effectively than Miss Cloud the Revolutionary period as a background for some of her stories. Their divination of the past makes them remarkable, and the characterization and incidents show that the dramatic sense is quite as accurate and strong as the historic.

Many of the shorter poems, all the longer, and all the stories, show this strong dramatic sense, this sense of the value of contrast. "Revelation," "A Lost Song," "On A Judean Housetop," reveal that interpenetrative imagination which becomes one with its subject, and thereby lets that subject speak for itself.

To present life as a continuous whole full of motion and color, full of infinite wonder and surprise, full of pathos too, seeing our limitations; and to express it all on the ascending scale, be it ever so little, in song or story, the song wind-blown and musical, the story—given its controlling character—always dramatic, this is what Miss Cloud so successfully achieves.

Ellen Durrall.

OF THE SEA

From 'A Reed by the River.' Copyright by Richard G. Badger, Publisher, Boston.
By kind permission of the publisher and the author.

Let us go down to the sea, ere the noisy day be over,

Let us go down to the sea, and strip us of care and of toil;
There are graves in the heart of man that only the sea can
cover,

There are deeds in the life of man to be sown as the deep
sea spoil.

Flee from the surging of sound that urges us on to the morrow,
Wrest from the merciless round that returns with the birth
of the sun,

Free us of harassing thought, and the wind's wild pinion bor-
row—

Yet there is room for the heart where the wind and the wave
are born.

And the grief which lieth behind let us give to the grace of
 forgetting,
 And the faith that is dimmed let us shrive with the clean,
 keen salt of the sea,
 And the fruitless doubt let us fling beyond the bound of re-
 gretting,
 Where only the wave and the sky and the soul of man may
 be.

Earth, the mother, hath balm for her world-stained sons and
 daughters,
 Earth, the mother, hath balm for her toil-spent hearts and
 sad,
 Time cannot curb nor deny God's bountiful boon of waters—
 Let us down to the sea, my soul, let us down to the sea and
 be glad.

THE ENVIABLE ERRAND OF MASTER MERRIVEIN

From 'Down Durley Lane.' Copyright by The Century Company. By kind permission
 of the publishers and the author.

Quoth Mistress Merrivein, one morn, "Go! Get ye forth right
 early,
 And fetch a pound o' tea from out of the market-place o'
 Durley;
 Of green alapca buy a yard, red ribbon for my muff,
 An earthen crock, a skein of yarn, ha'penny worth o' snuff,
 A wooden pail, a pair of mitts, and flour from the mill, sir;
 And that you may return full soon, go round by Hyburn Hill,
 sir!"

So kindly Master Merrivein, he hied him forth right early;
 And this is what he told himself upon the road to Durley:
 "Of red alapca buy a pound, a pail of tea, a muff,
 Green mitts, a skein of flour, and a half a yard of snuff!"

And as he went down Hyburn Hill, a-whistling blithe and
 cheery,
 He met the market-woman who came out from County Kerry,
 With basket balanced on her head, and panniers at her side,
 She bobbed to Master Merrivein; and this was what she cried:

"Arrah, now, pretty gintleman! Coom, shtop awhile an' buy!
I've spectacles to match the rogue a-twinklin' in yer eye!
Wid neckerchiefs an' finger-rings—most beauchiful they're
shinin'!

To suit ye dacintly an' grand, I'll sthraightway be divinin'."

But Master Merrivein, the wise, he sagely shook his head,
And to the market-woman these mysterious words he said:
"Of red alpaca buy a pound; a yard of mitts and muff;
Green flour in a wooden crock, and half a skein of snuff—"

"Begone!" that market-woman cried; "the likes of ye should
know

A dacint market-woman'll not be tr'ated so!"

Down Hyburn Hill she followed him, with hard and furious
pace,

Till nigh the hurrying throng outside the Durley market-place.

And there, with her black cat, was Meg, the Witch o' Durley
Green.

"Hold, now, and hearken, sir," cried she, "your fortune I have
seen!

Strange stores indeed of gold and gear this day are waiting
you;

But he who'd find aright must buy my magic snake-tooth
brew!"

But Master Merrivein, the wise, he sagely shook his head,
And to the Witch o' Durley Green these mystic words he said:
"Of red alpaca buy a skein—a crock of muffs and things;
Green spectacles, a pail of snuff, a pound of finger-rings—"

"Hoots! Toots!" the Witch o' Durley cried, 'mid shouts and
gibes and laughter,

As with her stick upraised in air she angrily sped after.

While Jake, the Pieman, ran before, a-calling "Cake or tart,
sir?"

And Moll, the gypsy, ran beside, a-crying, "Make you smart,
sir,

With laces, ribbons, yellow beads, and little looking-glasses!
An' you'll be finer than the lads, an' fairer than the lasses!"
But with his hands upon his ears, good Merrivein he sped,
While they followed in amazement at the queer words that he
said.

"Of red alpaca buy a crock, a pail of rings, a muff;
A half a pound of spectacles, a yard of snake-tooth snuff—"
Oh, then he fled beyond their shouts, that nobody might find
him;
But buxom Bess, the squire's maid, went running on behind
him.

And Polly from the Ferrier's, and Peggy from the hillside,
And little Norah of Dunblea, and Nelly of the millside;
And so they ran, and oh, they ran! a-joining hands together
'Twixt Durley Hill and Durley Green, all in the windy weather.

And there, good Master Merrivein!—upon a stone they found
him;
And oh, they glanced, and oh, they pranced, and oh, they
danced around him!
And Polly showed a crimson shoe,
And Norah's saucy eyes were blue,
And Bess she wore a kerchief red, and Peggy had a yellow
head,
And Nelly like a lark did sing, as round they whirled them in
a ring.

But through the song and laughter, and the tripping dance
so gay,
They heard good Master Merrivein's disjointed utterance say:
" 'Twas red alpaca in a pail—a pound of looking-glasses—
Blue muffs and things—red finger rings for little dancing-
lasses—
A skein of yellow beads and lace—a yard of snake-tooth tea—"
Alack, poor Master Merrivein, in sorry plight was he!

But what good Master Merrivein fetched home that morning
early—
Go ask of Mistress Merrivein, on t' other side of Durley!

DOWN DURLEY LANE

Copyright by The Century Company. By kind permission of the publishers.

Down Durley Lane a-singing as I chanced for to go,
The briar was a-blossom, and the hedges were a-blow—
There I spied a piper, a-piping to the sky,
So down the lane and after him away went I.

"Oh, tell me, piper, tell me, why go you piping here?"

"For honey-stalks and ox-lips and all the sweet o' year!"

Where the crooked turnstile at the meadow stands
A brown and lithesome farmer lad was whistling o'er his
lands;

Only larks above the wheat could whistle clear as he,

So through the meadow, after him, away went we!

"Oh, tell us, farmer, tell us, why go you whistling gay?"

"For barley-break and yellow moon and tossing of the hay!"

Out upon the highway from the nodding grass,
A-trilling of a silver song, we met a lovely lass;
She only smiled—I know not yet how it did befall,
But up the highway, after her, away went we all!

"Oh, tell us, lovely, lovely lass, why go you singing there?"

"Why, but for love-in-idleness, and dancing at the fair!"

There, about a milestone, where the hill began,
A-leaping and a-skipping we found the queerest man;
He hopped and he laughed—'twas very strange to see—
So up the hill, and after him, away went we!

"Now, prythee, merry gentleman, why go you laughing, too?"

"Forsooth, fair mates, because I fared this way, and met
with you!"

And lo, upon the hill-top, a mighty mistress gay,
Her satin petticoat was grand, her feathers fine were they!
Her buckles and her ribbons they flouted foot and head,
So, o'er the hill-top, after her, away we all sped!

"Oh, mistress, mighty mistress, what brings you o'er the lea?"

But she tossed her head right haughtily, and proudly past
minced she.

So then, with pipe and singing, with laugh and whistle shrill,
 The maddest music there was made a-dashing down the hill!
 Until upon the green ways, nigh to Durley Fair,
 We smiled at one another—and wondered we were there!
 "Now, why go we a-faring about the green ways here?"
 "For such a blithesome company, and all the sweet o' year!"

But why the Piper piped a tune so keenly strange and sweet,
 And why the Farmer whistled so joyous through his wheat,
 And what the magic meaning of the lovely lassie's song,
 And why the queer man should leap so merrily along,
 (And of that mighty mistress, who was so wondrous fine—
 With buckles peering through the dusk like fireflies a-shine),

We never grew the wiser, nor learned what 'twas about,
 Although we danced upon the green until the stars shone
 out;
 And no one knows unto this day the how and why and
 where—
 Save that each one followed someone else well-nigh to Dur-
 ley Fair.
 Yet this, methinks, is very clear—in truth 'tis passing plain—
 I tripped it once, when the world was gay, adown green Dur-
 ley Lane!

PAYING THE PIPER

The Bookman. By kind permission of Dodd, Mead and Company.

The Piper sat by the river, his tireless pipe in his hand,
 But ere the sun set and the white stars met
 He scratched with a stick on the sand.
 "My bills are due," quoth the Piper, "and now they pay,"
 quoth he,
 "Who danced and played from sun into shade
 Now render account to *me*."
 "Here is one for a year," quoth the Piper, "a year of love's
 delight;
 A heart that is dead and a soul unwed
 Shall cancel a debt so trite.

I need not dun," quoth the Piper—and laughed, but nobody
heard,

A chill in the air and a shudder somewhere—

"They will render without one word."

"And this for my maddest playing"—O, he wrote as he
chuckled and laughed—

"I will make my dole an immortal soul,
They shall drain where they only quaffed!"

So, he did his sum in addition till the rose and the star had met,

But although he tried to thrust it aside

One name lay unchallenged yet.

Complacently, knave and sinner apportioned he each his due,

But when it was o'er there remained one more,

And its pattern the Piper knew.

"Rascal or thief," mused the Piper, "I play for their dancing
and smile,

They have their way for a little day,

I have mine—after a while."

"I can score each knave," quoth the Piper, "in Life's ill-sorted
school,

For they take and they take their greed to slake;

But I am no match for the Fool!

For *he* pays as he goes," frowned the Piper, "pain, laughter,
passion, or tears!

He claims no pelf from Life for himself,

But gives his all without fears.

The rest of my dancers laugh not, and I hold each one as a tool,

But he pays as he goes be it rapture or woes,

And I have no bill for the Fool!

He loves as he lives," frowned the Piper, "and such poor re-
turns suffice,

For he cries, 'Voilà le diable!' and gives himself as the price!"

Then, with chagrin and reluctance, as the star sank into the
pool,

The Piper made claim to each separate name,

But receipted in full—for the Fool.

A PETITION

From *Harper's Magazine*. By kind permission of Harper and Brothers

I pray, your Majesty, grant me this thing—
My song. All else is yours, O Love, my King.
Have I not burned for incense youth's white flame?
Spent for your favor minstrelsy's fair fame?

The green ways call in vain; the teeming mould
Spreads for my coming all its cloth-of-gold—
O, red of leaf and wonder on the hills!
Along day's rim the light of parting thrills.

Once these things made me ready, Love, my King,
Here at your feet to strike my lute's light string;
And now I pray, though all else you shall take,
Leave me my Song, lest all my heart shall break!

But, though your Bondman freed, I bear it hence,
What is the Song if not of thee, and whence
My singing? Turn your face! My lips are mute,
O, Love, my King, behold—the broken lute!

YOUTH

From 'A Reed by the River.' Copyright by Richard Badger, Publisher. By kind permission of the publisher.

Out of the heart there flew a little singing bird
Past the dawn and the dew, where leaves of morning stirred,
And the heart which followed on, said, "Though the bird be
 flown
Which sang in the dew and the dawn, the song is still my
 own."

Over the foot-worn track, over the rock and thorn,
The tired heart looked back to the olive leaves of morn,
To the fair lost fields again, and said, "I hear it! Oh,
 hark!"—
Though the bird were long since slain, though the song had
 died in the dark.

LOVE'S LENITY

From 'A Reed by the River.' Copyright by Richard Badger, Publisher. By kind permission of the publisher.

From the sweet hazard of my deep desire
Thy heart may fly upon evasive wing;
For me, the silent shade, the smouldering fire,
The echo of the song that thou shalt sing;
For thee, perchance, far purple vineyards burn,
And raptures of a radiant noon await.
Speed then at will—but find at thy return,
My heart, thy sentinel at twilight's gate;
By that immeasurable bond, the thread
Of love, a willing captive held am I;
By that same bond—be the world's bounty spread
As thy fair feast—my heart doth bid thee fly;
For this glad mystery is wrought in me,
Forever am I bound, whilst thou art free!

THE SIMPLE SHEPHERD

Harper's Bazaar. Copyright by Harper and Brothers.

I am a shepherd of the plain, the weakling ewes are prone to
me.
Down through the meadows gray with rain, I follow where
their cry may be.
My brethren mock me year by year, who with the seasons
come and go,
By ship or sandal, script or spear, with caravan or moving
show,
And bid me seek the market-place, the tumult of the outbound
sea,
The promise of the mountain's face, the distance of the
desert free;
But, mid the silent dusks and dews, the gentle pastures of the
plain,
I bide the calling of the ewes, to which none other's ear is
fain.

For, did I seek the far, free way, ere yet the watching stars
 could pale,
 And turn me to that broader day, no guarding arm would
 tend my vale;
 But lo, one signal hold I dear, and often passing strange it
 seems—
 A star there is that draweth near, betwixt my waking and
 my dreams.

It leadeth down the kindred dark, whither the lambs are
 calling me,
 Till, from its mount I surely hark some melody befalling me;
 Thus, though I bide upon the plain, through all my darks,
 through all my nights,
 Ay, though the world be blind with rain!—I hear the music
 of the heights.

IRAM'S ROSE

Iram is gone with all its Rose.—*Omar*.

Copyright by *The Smart Set*. By kind permission of the publishers.

Where was Iram, who that one
 Who has watched its garden growing?
 Nishapur or Babylon
 Held its radiant rose a-blowing?

Plucked he not the Sultan's flower,
 Amber-eyed and red of mouth,
 Made it his for one ripe hour
 Warm and spice-winged from the South?

Haply caught all life, they two
 With that rose, and tossed it madly
 In the sun, where never blew,
 Nay, nor died, a flower so gladly!

Laughed and tossed it in their glass,
 Drank and drained it, breath to breath;
 Ere the dial's shade had passed,
 They had sought the shade of death.

Lived and loved an hour, where grows
Some old garden by a river;
Gone is Iram—but its rose
Breathes perfume in song forever.

MOTHER EARTH

From *The Bookman*. By kind permission of Dodd, Mead and Company.

Tired child, you know me best,
Light upon my bosom lying,
Pain unknown and joy your quest,
Laughter, leaf and bird-wing flying,
Neither doubt nor love your guest—
Tired child, you know me best.

Heart, you know me not at all,
Through the world's mad tumult pressing,
Blind unto my older thrall,
Strayed beyond my dumb caressing.
Laggard foot and burning stone,
All of life a restless striving,
Heart the alien is alone,
Only I can give you shriving.

Tired child, you know me best,
Stealing back, the world-spent lover,
Faint and soul-sick from the test,
All my boughs shall cool and cover.
Bee shall hum and wind shall croon,
Unseen arms are mine that bound you—
Best, and with the leafy noon
Older dreams shall flower round you—
Lo, the balm of grass my breast!
Tired child, you know me best.

LEISURELY LANE

From 'A Reed by the River.' Copyright by Richard Badger, Publisher. By permission of the publisher.

Is there no road now to Leisurely Lane?—We traveled it long ago;
A place for the lagging of leisurely steps, sweet and shady and slow,
With rims of restful hills beyond, and fields of dreamful wheat,
With shadows of clouds above them blown, and poppies asleep at our feet.

There lads and maids on a Sunday met, and strolled them two and two,
The leaves they met in a roof o'erhead, and only the sun peered through,
And there was time to gather a rose, and time for the wild-bird's call,
And plenty of time to sit by a stream and hearken its ripple and fall.

Is there no road now to Leisurely Lane?—*God knows we have wandered afar!*
There was once a lamp through the brooding dusk, and over the tree a star,
There was once a breath of the clover bloom—*sweet Heaven, have we hurried so long!*—
And there was a gate by a white rose clasped, and out of the dusk a song.

The song—the echo is strange and sweet, the voice it is weak and old—
It has no part with this fierce, wild rush and this hard, mad fight for gold!
It has no part with the clamor and din, the jarring of wheel and stone—
O listen, my heart, and forget—forget that we reap the bread we have sown!

Is there no road now to Leisurely Lane—where lingering,
one by one,
The summoning bells of twilight-time over the meadows
blown
May find us, strolling our homeward way, glad of the evening
star?
Is there no road now to Leisurely Lane?—*God knows we
have hurried afar.*

THE HEART ON THE HIGHWAY

From *The Bookman*. Copyright by Dodd, Mead and Company. Kind permission of
the publishers.

When I forget the forest, the snow by sunset reddened,
The pæan of the pine-top,
The dark dream of the fir,
When whisper of the little leaves
By wheel and stone is deadened,
Nor yet through twilight's Mystery the wings of Memory
stir—

When I heed not the footfall of a dryad in the grasses,
Nor hark a pipe's note echo
Down the river's secret spot,
When the eager flame of being
Leaps no more while April passes—
Then strike me from thy race, O Life, and let me be forgot!

When to the psalm of waters, the Sea's majestic spaces,
The heart shall shrink from solitude
And fail to answer "Here!"
Nor find its royal kinship
In Autumn's silent places,
And, songless, hears no singing in the death-sigh of the year—

When thought plods on in bondage, the din of day grown
stronger,
And the older call, the sweeter thrall
Of longing is forgot—
When through still rain the keener pain
Of loving comes no longer—

*Then strike me from thy race, O Life, and write that I am
not!*

BALM

From 'A Reed by the River.' Copyright by Richard Badger, Publisher. By permission of the publisher.

After the sun, the shade
 Beatitude of shadow,
 Dim aisles for memory made—
 And Thought;
 After the sun, the shade.

After the heat, the dew,
 The tender touch of twilight;
 The unfolding of the few
 Calm stars;
 After the heat, the dew.

After all, there is balm;
 From the wings of dark there is wafture
 Of sleep, night's infinite psalm—
 And Dreams;
 After all there is balm.

EGYPT LAND

From *Harper's Magazine*. Copyright by Harper and Brothers. By kind permission of the publishers.

All day, my master Life, I threshed your corn,
 Now I am hungered and the night is nigh;
 I prest your grapes, made wine for days unborn,
 Behold, here in the dusk, athirst am I.

Have I not watched your flocks, tended your sheep?
 Now, when the sun is set, I stand alone;
 I pray you, bid this wage be mine—to sleep
 Awhile where yonder meadow-flowers are sown.

Down that dim valley, shadowed all so sweet,
 No grinding stone, and no taskmaster's rod
 May find me, nor urge on my lagging feet;
 Only a star above, and somewhere—God.

I pray you, master Life, where winds yon stream
Methinks there blooms the balm that now I lack;
Pay me this wage—though nevermore I dream—
That thither I may fare, and turn not back.

THE JESTER'S SONG

Copyright by *The Smart Set*. By permission of the publishers.

Because I pressed my golden sheaves,
And reaped the bitter herb thereafter,
My cap I toss to gilded eaves
And make the mirth for other's laughter.

Because my little hoard I pour
Down at Love's feet, to speed Love's calling,
I set a taper at Love's door,
And sing of Joy each heart befalling.

Because of thirst in desert lands,
Of hunger's gloom, no soul to hearken,
I shake Life's boughs for waiting hands,
And sing of stars that never darken.

The bondsman's chain shall sound this bell;
The hidden scourge shall lend men laughter.
Then use me, Life, to dull Time's knell,
Or ease Pain's night which stealeth after!

LIZA WETHERFORD

From The Atlantic Monthly. By permission of the publishers.

"You always talk about ghosts the same as if they *were* yet you've never seen one, Aunt Dilsy."

"Maybe not; though I seem to see a heap when I set here alone of evenin's. I ain't never been to a city, yet I know it's there, an' 's creepin' out on us, with its spires an' churches an' opery house. I ain't never seen the falls of Niagry; have you?"

"No'm, nor want to. The creek in a spring risin' 's enough for me."

"You always were scary as a child." Aunt Dilsy rocked comfortably, with her chair drawn to the doorway, where she could see the sunset fading from the locust trees.

"I reckon a body don't have time left for scariness, with hard work 'n' worry 'n' sickness 'n' children 'n' husband 'n' all," said the neighbor, sitting on the step.

"Well, talkin' of husbands, I've lived to mourn mine, an' he's a heap of company yet," said Aunt Dilsy.

"You make my flesh creep when you talk about the dead like they were flesh 'n' blood! It's livin' so near to the buryin' ground, I s'pose. I'd rather keep company with the livin'," returned the first.

"Child, the nearness of the dead need n't make you afeard. Why, I set here a-watchin' them stones down yonder in the buryin' ground till it seems like they was movin' around in the dusk, an' their owners oughter come up 'n' set awhile, for old acquaintance' sake!"

"I reckon if they did you'd be as scary as the next one," remarked the other, in the unresponsiveness with which the utterances of the imaginative are met by their more phlegmatic kind.

"I don't believe so," said Aunt Dilsy gently, "I'm so used to the thought of 'em; an' knowin' their restin' places so well has seemed to draw 'em nearer. I have n't had anythin' else to mother for a good while now 'cept them graves. Yes, some folks lyin' down yonder are better known to me now than they were in life. It's like the false doctrines had fell

away of themselves, an' the truth about folks grew clear in a body's mind in spite of everythin'."

The other woman sat, with her chin in her hand, listening vaguely, and gazing where a boy was driving cows up the lane. Her attitude expressed that any theory which might be alien to the beaten track of village opinion could not bear weight in her estimation.

"There's many a one takes to flowers easy that you wouldn't have thought it of," mused Aunt Dilsy's gentle voice. "There was n't a leaf or blade on Antony Birk, the ground was so hard—"

"I reckon Antony Birk was too hard-natured for anythin' to grow on him!" interpolated the neighbor.

"So 't was thought. But I minded the time he gave Jane Atkins and the children that cottage free of rent in winter time, an' I thought the Lord must know of a soft spot somewhere, so I planted a little periwinkle, an' it's growing beautiful."

"I never knew he gave anythin' to anybody in all his mortal life."

"Folks ain't so apt to know what a man does as what he don't do. All the flowers down yonder's doin' well; the life everlastin' on my Amos—he held on to life so, Amos did; an' the pansies on poor Sally Minch—she never had no heart's ease in life, an' 't seems like she deserves some now; the bleedin' heart on little Molly Green; but the best bloomer of all's that there crimson rambler rose I planted on Liza Wetherford, an' I ain't a bit surprised."

The listener turned her head with a show of interest, and said, "Why not?"

"Because Liza always could do things better 'n anybody else, whether 't was raisin' flowers or singin' or workin'; she was mighty pretty, too."

"I never thought Liza Wetherford had any looks to speak of," remarked the neighbor.

"'T was the sort of looks that are deeper 'n flesh. She loved a red flower, too, poor Liza!"

"*Ther* ain't any call to pity Liza Wetherford now, Aunt Dilsy; if she did n't come to no good end, she brought it on herself. Better call a spade a spade."

"Maybe it digs as well if we don't call it a rusty one," said Aunt Dilsy. "The only bad end Liza come to, to my knowledge, was to be sent back dead with a doctor's certificate for typhoid fever, poor soul! There warn't any too many mourners to follow the hearse from the train to the buryin' ground, though I tried to make it seem Christian-like. But she didn't have no people at best. Seemed like Liza was buffeted around terrible from the start; motherless, too!"

"Oh, Aunt Dilsy, you can't make folks as easy on people as you are. If runnin' away from home, an' goin' back on the man she was to marry, an'—if what is said is true—turnin' play actor on the stage, is n't a bad end, what *is*?"

"I've found out that a thing may look one way, an' be another," said the older woman, gazing where the dusk gathered blackly in the locust leaves; "we deceive ourselves easy by tryin' to think as other folks think. Maybe livin' alone has kep' my memory fresh about folks, but—you knew Marcus Wetherford, Liza's father?" The neighbor nodded. "Well, I knew Marcus an' Tom Wetherford before your day. Tom went West an' married an' died; an' Marcus, he lived alone here, shif'less an' worse. I ain't one to rake up a man's sins, livin' or dead, but truth is truth. When he got into trouble with the Plineyville Bank, how did he keep out of jail?"

"I don't just remember now," said the other indifferently.

"'T was this way: Liza went around and raised the money for bail, and pledged herself to pay it all back; and I reckon she knew best what a life Marcus led her! Then she broke off with Willy Marshall, refusin' to bring disgrace upon his name; and what did Marcus do? (For there's them that can't stand bein' helped!) He up 'n' promised old Jacob Rhett that if he'd go security on a note, Liza should marry him; and he knew that Liza was just wrapped up in Willy Marshall!"

"Well, I don't know anythin' about that part," said the neighbor; "it seemed like Mr. Wetherford lived quiet and respectable enough afterwards. All men fall into trouble sometimes."

"And women, too—only they don't get out of it so easy,"

said Aunt Dilsy. "He did n't dare be anythin' but respectable; 't was that respectableness that wore me out with Marcus Wetherford! I most deceived myself tryin' to make excuses to myself for him, but it wasn't any use; could n't see him any way 'cept what he was, nowadays. He was so smooth-tongued that when old Jacob Rhett demanded that Liza should marry him, Marcus sorter got everybody on his side—don't ask me how! And all the time Liza workin' her fingers to the bone for the bail money! I never admired Liza so much as when she saw the right and refused. Then she went away as clean from sight as though she'd never been. Afterward the Plineyville Bank began to get a sum reg'lar, until every cent of the money was paid off; and all the time Marcus goin' around mournin' Liza disgracin' him! My land! I hope I'll be forgiven for seein' it all so plain! It's terrible, sometimes, to see folks just as they are. But I'll tell you this: it was a good while after Marcus Wetherford died before I could bring myself to plant more than a petunia on him!" Aunt Dilsy sighed, and leaned back and passed her handkerchief over her face, after this unusual outburst. The frogs croaked in the hollow, and the night drew near.

"Well, it's a wonder, for you're so soft about people," replied the other woman. "I only know what they said about Liza Wetherford. Seems like her father had given a promise; and old Jacob Rhett had money, too."

Aunt Dilsy sighed; she had heard the argument many times. "Yes, that's just it," she said; "you can't set folks right when they want to see wrong."

"Well, Aunt Dilsy, she certainly did get that money mighty quick, some way! She must have got to be an actor or—or something."

"Well, there ain't any commandment agin it," said Aunt Dilsy. "I own that Liza was different to most in these parts; but just because we belong to Plineyville, we ain't seen everybody yet. She could sing wonderful, Liza could. My! I hear that voice yet; it kind of went to the soul. You see, tendin' flowers has taught me a heap. No two can be raised alike. There's them to be tied, and them to be twined, and them to be left to the wind o' heaven; an' it's the same with folks."

"Well, I must think 'cordin' to principle," said the neighbor virtuously, as she arose. "Seems to me that when her father got to be a respectable elder of the church 'n' all, she'd better have stayed home 'n' married. Old Jacob Rhett had a heap o' money. I must go make my bread up, Aunt Dilsy."

The older woman sighed before she too arose. It was the sigh which meant the folding of the wings of vision which were driven back to brood within the silence of her own heart.

"I'll go to the gate with you. I take exercise reg'lar now, mornin's and evenin's, to keep from gettin' oversized."

The moon shone through a black fret of locust leaves as the two women walked down the path together. At the gate, as her neighbor passed through, Aunt Dilsy stopped to smell a hundred-leaved rose. "Yes," she repeated, "flowers has taught me. There's nothin' alike; all's different; but folks don't see it, even when other folks are lyin' dead like poor Liza Wetherford."

The other made an irrelevant remark about the warmth of the night, and went her way down the road, which meant that no one need be affected one way or the other by the vagaries of one as notional and "soft-natured" as Aunt Dilsy Ames. Meanwhile, Aunt Dilsy went back to her cottage by another path, where she stopped through force of habit at the gate of the little graveyard adjoining her land. The moonlight made more white the stones against the black yew, which stood spirelike in the centre of the plot. The paths were white as day, and she peered forward, discerning the dark mass of the rambler rose—a rich crimson by day—which overhung the grave of Liza Wetherford. She looked, and looked again, and drew her shoulder shawl close, as though the air were growing cooler. Then she turned back to her garden path, and stopped to touch a plant here and there, as familiarly as if it had been day. The air was heavy and sweet, and inside her cottage Aunt Dilsy drew her chair again to the doorway, and sat dreamily rocking and gazing out upon the moonlit world. This was the hour which she habitually gave to nature, to the impassioned sense of beauty and truth within her, and she drank in the nearness of the night, as they only can to whom such solitude is the draught of life.

As she rocked and mused, the moon's light and the black shadows merged, and a shape grew out of them, and stood hesitating in the path, as though listening. It stole forward haltingly, yet longingly, and then a woman's form stood before the door. She was tall and slim, and something fleecy fell back from her dark hair, which was drawn softly from a clear brow. She withdrew into the deeper shadow, and when she spoke she seemed a part of the night—only there was a swift movement of the hands, quickly suppressed, as though they would fain have flown outward; and one of them held a cluster of the rambler rose.

"I did not intend to startle you. I saw you, and only stopped for a moment."

It was a vibrating tone, and at its sound Aunt Dilsy leaned forward quickly and strove to see through the darkness. Then her voice trembled strangely. "I knew I saw somebody—somethin'—down yonder, as I come by. Seems like I know your voice mighty well."

The figure started, as though it would have fled, and the veil of night grew deeper between them, and through it came quickly breathed words:

"No, you do not know me."

There was an instant in which Aunt Dilsy's old hands clasped together, and the insistent noises of night were loud in her ears.

"Maybe I've no right to say I do," she said humbly, "but I'd know that voice anywheres. It belonged to one I helped to bury with my own hands." She passed a hand across her brow as though to brush away the dream, if dream it were; form was an intangible object in the night-time. Then her voice grew stronger. "Yes, I helped to bury her, but I ain't afeard of you—if you're—her."

The other gave a sigh of relief, and drew nearer and sat down upon the step, with her head bowed almost at Aunt Dilsy's knee.

"I might have known that you wouldn't be afraid of Liza Wetherford," she murmured. "I wanted so to see you once, to thank you for planting this." She held up the rambler rose. "No one else would have done it." She sighed, and Aunt Dilsy spoke as in a dream:

" 'T was n't anythin' to do! I knew all about it, you see—how Liza come to go away 'n' all. She was most heartbroke; seems like I'd have done the same if I'd been her. I was so hurt for her that I was n't sorry scarcely when she come back dead an' at rest; it seemed better so."

The moon had crept behind the house, and the locust leaves wove black shadows like phantom hands between the two—Aunt Dilsy's pitiful old face, and the dark head bowed at her knee.

"I'd like to have seen her once, though," she mused, "there were things I wanted to make sure about, so's I could straighten it out here for her some, maybe."

"No one must know!" whispered the other.

"I've always wanted to know how that money was made," said Aunt Dilsy.

"You've a right to know," spoke the voice. "It was made honestly, by singing. Oh, it was a terrible struggle at first, almost starvation; but she was bitter and desperate, and—and did n't care. She did not want even her old name; she left that behind her with everything else."

"I knew Liza could n't have live anyways but honest!" said Aunt Dilsy.

"Dear Aunt Dilsy, it is so good to hear your voice! Yes, she was honest. She only had time for work, and she had nobody; that is, until she found her cousin, who was ill and poor, too."

"Tom's daughter?" asked Aunt Dilsy.

"Yes; they stayed together until—until"—

"Until Liza died," said the older voice.

"Oh, why did you say that it was better she died?" the other broke in, with a sudden note of passion and a sob. "Why should n't she have lived afterwards, after all the struggle was over, and had time for life? Maybe she could have come back here and had a home like other people, and—and—been happy. Oh, why could n't she? Was there nobody wanted her?"

Aunt Dilsy looked dreamily into the darkness and rocked, as though musing to herself.

"Maybe I'm wrong, but 't seems like folks forget easy when they don't care, and hard when they do."

"You mean there's nobody cares now? Yes, you are right; there would have been no use for her to have come back. Tell me: when I—when Liza died, was there *anybody* who cared then?"

"Willy cared," said Aunt Dilsy softly; "he cared terrible."

"Yes—yes, tell me!"

"Well, men are different," said Aunt Dilsy gently, "and people's talking will have weight, I s'pose. He married soon afterwards."

There was stillness between them except for the whip-poorwill's note and the shrill voices of the darkness. Then the other arose and stood tall against the night.

"It was better she died," said she. "Life has its way with some; they can't battle against it. It would have done no good to have come back." Suddenly her hands were flung upward, and shuddering sobs broke the restraint of words. "I waited so long! I waited so long for him to come! He promised—and he did not come—and I thought that he loved me!" It was a bitter, human cry, and for a quick instant two arms were cast around Aunt Dilsy, and a tear lay hot upon her cheek. "Oh, forgive me for coming! Forgive me! I was starving to know! . . . Good-by! Oh, good-by! . . . You are the only one I ever had—the only one!"

The leaves shook as with wind, and the older woman arose like one awakening from sleep, and stood trembling on the threshold.

"You are no spirit!" she said aloud. "You are mortal flesh and blood! For the good Lord's sake, tell me what this means! *What became of Tom's daughter?* Speak!"

The answer stole back with a sob—"Dead."

"And her name? Her name?"

But the darkness closed upon a vanishing form and there was only a whisper—

"*Liza Wetherford!*"

MONCURE DANIEL CONWAY

[1832—1907]

JOHN HOLLADAY LATANÉ

MONCURE DANIEL CONWAY was born March 17, 1832, in Stafford County, Virginia, about fifteen miles from Falmouth, to which village his parents moved when he was six years old. Here his childhood and youth were spent in the imposing brick mansion known as Conway House. A factor that entered very largely into his early life and into the shaping of his character was the circumstance that his parents, though sprung from old Episcopal families in a community where membership in the Episcopal Church was still a badge of social distinction, were themselves devoted adherents of Methodism, his father having been converted to that faith in early manhood. Miss Margaret Eleanor Daniel, whom he shortly afterwards married, had been reared under strict Presbyterian influence in the family of John Lewis of Llangollen, but always revolting against the doctrine of predestination she willingly embraced the faith of her husband, and used to quote with merry approval the negro hymn—

“I never foun’ no peace nor res’
Till I jine the Methodes’.”

The basement of the Conway House in Falmouth was fitted up for prayer meetings, which were held twice every week, and Moncure Conway gives a very touching picture of these meetings conducted by his intellectual father and his refined mother, who led the singing and was always called on after his father to lead in prayer, amidst a group of humble and illiterate people who composed the Methodist Church of Falmouth in that day.

Moncure and his brother Peyton were the only Methodist children in the school he attended, and he seems to have looked with feelings of mingled disapproval and envy on the little worldly-minded Episcopalians, and even the Presbyterian children, whose conduct and destiny were already fixed, and who, he says, enjoyed more freedom than the little Methodists who are every moment determining their eternal weal or woe. This was not a wholesome condition for a sensitive nature, and Moncure soon developed a morbid self-consciousness, which was more or less in evidence to the end of his life.

He was finally sent at the age of fifteen to join his elder brother at Dickinson College, Carlisle, Pennsylvania. This institution was in a flourishing condition and its faculty composed of a body of exceptionally able men. Here young Conway, after a residence of two years, graduated in the class of 1849, aged seventeen. In addition to acquiring an education at college he fell in love with the sister of President Emory, and was also "converted," though his conversion does not appear to have wrought any great change in him.

After graduation he returned to Virginia and began to read law at Warrenton. These were the days when the great compromise on slavery was being debated in and out of Congress. Although a large slave-holder, his father was not an advocate of the institution, and when Moncure was made secretary of a meeting called to form a Southern Rights Association, his father quietly remarked: "Don't be the fool of those people! Slavery is a doomed institution." The son, however, coming across a theory of Agassiz that the races of mankind are not sprung from a single pair, advanced the view before a debating society at Warrenton that the negro was not a man within the meaning of the Declaration of Independence, but that if human, he was entitled to liberty. This eccentricity stirred up quite a religious tempest in the community. Six months later young Conway underwent a second conversion, and in December, 1850, announced in a letter to his father his determination to abandon the law and to apply for admission to the Baltimore Methodist Conference as a minister. Strange to say this resolution was inspired by the study of Emerson's essays, but he had read only the first and second series, and had not gone far enough to discover that Emerson's philosophy was inconsistent with any form of orthodoxy. Henceforth the Sage of Concord was his spiritual and intellectual guide, and his teachings soon led him far afield. The next two years, however, were spent in the Methodist ministry, first as junior preacher on the Rockville circuit in Maryland, and later in charge of the Frederick circuit.

At Sandy Springs, Maryland, within the bounds of his first circuit was a settlement of Hicksite Quakers, a prosperous, refined and cultured community. He soon became intimate with the patriarch of this settlement, Roger Brooke, a relative of Chief Justice Roger Brooke Taney, and his impressionable nature responded sympathetically to the anti-slavery and rationalistic views of this old man of sturdy intellect. He had meanwhile continued his study of Emerson, with whom he now began a fervent correspondence, unburdening his doubt-beset soul. The two diverse influences worked together to unsettle whatever orthodox views he held, and

led him after a few months to abandon the Methodist ministry. Returning home with many heart-burnings, he set out after a brief period for the Cambridge Divinity School, his father refusing to provide him with funds, saying with a heavy heart that he could not assist what appeared to him a grievous error. He reached Boston February 26, 1853, a mere youth in years, not yet having attained his majority, but with an experience which few older men possess, the result of a moral and intellectual precocity which he never entirely outgrew.

At Cambridge he was cordially received, not only by the faculty of the Divinity School, but by many men of prominence—Theodore Parker, Emerson, Hawthorne, Longfellow, Garrison and other leaders of New England thought, who naturally took a more than passing interest in a young Virginian, sprung from the old slaveholding aristocracy, who at twenty-one had "emancipated" himself from his political, intellectual and moral environment, and turned to them for light. He records in his diary under May 3: "The most memorable day of my life; spent with Ralph Waldo Emerson!" His head was in eminent danger of being turned, and he probably stood in need of the advice given him at a later period by Mrs. Jared Sparks: "Beware the seductions of martyrdom."

He was soon a full-fledged Abolitionist, and in religion identified himself with the radical wing of Unitarianism led by Theodore Parker. He showed at this period in a marked degree that "moral receptivity," described as the master-principle of his life by a eulogist, who in reviewing his career says that "he instantly and sensitively reacted to every new light that came across his path."

In October, 1854, he took charge of the Unitarian Church in Washington. A few weeks later, ignoring the warning of his father, which he did not understand, he visited his old home at Falmouth. During his residence at Cambridge Anthony Burns, a fugitive slave from Stafford County, was arrested in Boston, and with the aid of United States troops returned to his owner in the face of an angry mob. Not only Boston, but the whole of New England and a large part of the North was stirred by the incident. Conway had watched the mob around the court-house, but had taken no part for or against the owner of Burns, who, however, learned that Conway was there, and on his return home spread the report that he was involved in the attempt to rescue Burns. When Conway visited Falmouth, therefore, a group of young men, some of them his former schoolmates, informed him that his presence in the community was not desired, but that out of respect for his family they wished to avoid violence and hoped he would leave without trouble. This he consented to do, adopting some pretext, but not telling

his parents the real cause. This incident, he frankly says, distorted his vision. He had previously read a few chapters of 'Uncle Tom's Cabin,' which was just coming into notoriety, recognizing in it nothing that was true of slavery in Virginia, but on his return to Washington he read the whole of it sympathetically, accepting it as a true representation of things farther South.

In Washington the fugitive-slave law and the troubles in Kansas were the principal topics of interest, and Conway's temperament did not admit of his remaining silent even in the pulpit. His persistent injection of this subject into his Sunday discourses nearly split the church in twain and led in October, 1856, to his dismissal. A month later he entered on his ministry at the First Congregational Church of Cincinnati. This proved congenial soil, for everything new found headquarters in Cincinnati, and his congregation was strongly rationalistic. He fraternized freely with Roman Catholics, Jews and infidels; attended theatres and dances, but had not yet overcome his Methodist aversion to card-playing. The conservatives withdrew from his congregation and organized the "Church of the Redeemer." In 1858 he married Ellen Davis Dana of Cincinnati.

On the Sunday after the tidings of the raid on Harper's Ferry reached Cincinnati, Conway preached a sermon describing the action of John Brown, as "worse than a crime—a blunder," and declared that the Abolitionists, being non-resistants, would denounce his method; but in this he was mistaken, and the enthusiasm that swept over the North carried him completely off his feet. John Brown was executed December 2, 1859, and Conway says: "Two days later my sermon exalted him to the right hand of God." Looking back through the perspective of forty-five years, and reviewing these events in his 'Autobiography,' he says of John Brown: "Reading his career by the light of subsequent history, I am convinced that few men ever wrought so much evil."

In 1861 he published 'The Rejected Stone,' a plea for justice for the negro, and for immediate emancipation as the only means of stopping the war. "Such a measure," declared he, "would disband the Southern forces, and pin every rebel to his home." In 1862, hearing that his father's family had abandoned their home and that their slaves were scattered and suffering, he went to Falmouth under a pass from the War Department and carried the slaves to Ohio, settling them at Yellow Springs. In June, 1862, he was called to Boston to edit a new paper, the *Commonwealth*, devoted to the advocacy of immediate emancipation. About this time appeared his second book, 'The Golden Hour,' in which he maintained that the war was a gigantic mistake, that the administration was, in

the border states, protecting slavery with one hand while fighting it with the other.

In February, 1863, a number of leading Abolitionists persuaded him to go on a lecturing tour to England to try to persuade the English people that the North was right. He carried letters from Emerson to Carlyle, from George William Curtis to Robert Browning, and from William Lloyd Garrison to the anti-slavery leaders. At this time both the North and South still disclaimed fighting over slavery. Public opinion in England regarded the North as the aggressor and saw no justification for a war waged merely to preserve the Union. Robert Browning suggested to Conway that it would do good if the anti-slavery Americans should declare to the world that they had no desire to subjugate the South except for the liberation of the slaves. Prompted by this suggestion Conway wrote, under date of June 10, 1863, to James M. Mason, the Confederate Commissioner in London, who then stood high in public favor, stating that he had the authority to propose "on behalf of the leading anti-slavery men of America," that if the Confederate States would consent under proper guarantees to emancipate the slaves, the Abolitionists of the North would immediately oppose the further prosecution of the war; and, since they held the balance of power, this would certainly cause it to cease. Mason promptly replied demanding Conway's credentials, which threw the latter on the defensive. He answered that he would write to America and obtain evidence of his right to make the offer. Mason, pleased at the opportunity of compromising the Abolitionists with their own government, published the correspondence without further delay in the *London Times*. Conway's proposal was repudiated with a good deal of vehemence by the anti-slavery leaders of America, and the incident cut short his lecture tour. The most that his friends could say to him by way of consolation was that they believed his intentions were good. He was completely overwhelmed and his gloom was rendered all the deeper by the fact that his wife was still in America, at Concord, and had to bear the brunt of it alone. Writing to her to join him in Europe he accepted an invitation, opportunely received, to visit William Dean Howells, then consul at Venice.

The Mason incident quite largely determined the future course of Conway's life. The war had become abhorrent to him and he had no further zeal for the struggle. Under these circumstances he readily accepted a call to South Place Chapel, London, an ethical society, over which he presided for the next twenty years. Then after several years engaged in literary work and a journey around the world, "My pilgrimage to the Wise Men of the East," as he

called it, he returned in 1892 to his old charge at South Place Chapel, but upon the death of his wife, in 1897, he left London once more. His death occurred in Paris, November 15, 1907.

During his long residence in London Conway became acquainted with many of the leading men of letters, scientists and artists. Carlyle, Browning, Froude, Ruskin, George Eliot, Burne-Jones, Rossetti, Darwin, Tyndall, Huxley, Spencer, Max Müller, Jowett, Matthew Arnold and Frederick Harrison are names constantly met with in his 'Autobiography.' The subjoined list of his works, covering a wide range of topics, his interest in the religions of the world, in ethical cults, and in superstitions being uppermost, will show how prolific he was; but his versatility was a bar to profundity. Broad and liberal to the point of radicalism in most things, eagerly following every new light because it was new, he was tolerant of every standard of conduct and of every form of belief except the Christian religion; to the end of his days he had a standing grievance against the creed he had repudiated. Ever shifting his ground because of the inadequacy of the position he for the time occupied, he became as the years passed by more and more of a pessimist. During his last years he expressed a doubt as to whether after all the lot of the negro in the United States, with the large number of lynchings, was not in some respects worse than in the days of slavery.

There is a redeeming pathos in the judgment he passes on himself at the close of his life: "One who starts out at twenty to think for himself and pursue truth is likely to discover at seventy that one third of his life was given to error, another third to exchanging it for other error, and the last third to efforts to unsay the errors and undo the mistakes of the other two thirds." Of his numerous works his 'Autobiography' will probably live the longest. Not only does it throw an interesting side-light on many of the most prominent characters of the Nineteenth Century, but as the record of a life that journeyed all the way from Methodism to free thought, and from pro-slavery enthusiasm to Abolitionism, it affords a new viewpoint for the study of many of the struggles through which his generation passed.

John H. Latane

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Free Schools of Virginia, 1851.**
 Tracts for To-Day, 1858.
 The Rejected Stone, 1861.
 The Golden Hour, 1862.
 Testimonies Concerning Slavery, 1864.
 The Earthward Pilgrimage, or How I Left the World to Come
 for that Which Is, 1870.
 Republican Superstitions, 1872.
 The Sacred Anthology, 1873.
 Idols and Ideals, 1877.
 Demonology and Devil Lore (2 vols.), 1878.
 A Necklace of Stories, 1880.
 The Wandering Jew, 1881.
 Thomas Carlyle, 1881.
 Travels in South Kensington Museum, 1882.
 Emerson at Home and Abroad, 1883.
 Lessons for the Day, 1884; reprinted 1907.
 Farewell Discourses, 1884.
 Pine and Palm, 1884.
 Omitted Chapters of History, disclosed in the Life and Papers
 of Edmund Randolph, 1888.
 George Washington and Mount Vernon, 1889.
 Life of Hawthorne, 1890.
 Prisons of Air, 1891.
 Barons of the Potomac and the Rappahannock, 1892.
 Life of Thomas Paine, 1892.
 Centenary History of South Place Chapel, London, 1893.
 Solomon and Solomonian Literature, 1899.
 Thomas Paine, 1737-1809, et la Révolution dans les Deux Mondes,
 1900.
 Autobiography, Memories and Experiences (2 vols.), 1904.
 My Pilgrimage to the Wise Men of the East, 1906.

RECOLLECTIONS OF FROUDE AND CARLYLE

From 'Autobiography, Memories and Experiences.' Volume II. Copyright by Houghton, Mifflin and Company. By kind permission of the publishers.

THE manuscript of my first article in *Fraser* was sent by me to Carlyle, at his suggestion, and by him to the editor, James Anthony Froude. Thus began my long intimacy with Froude. This friendship made much of the charm of my London life. Nothing appeared lacking in Froude. Noble in appearance, a perfect gentleman in manners, simple and unassuming, frank and friendly, sweet and equable in disposition, he and his intellectual wife associated their house in Onslow Gardens with an elegant hospitality which those who enjoyed it can never forget.

But if there was anything more attractive than an invitation to the Froudes', where we were sure to meet a fine literary circle, it was my afternoon walks with him. In every such confidential talk I was enriched by his knowledge and the suggestiveness of his thought on subjects that most interested me.

My own experiences gave me a sort of key to Froude. Always conscious that my fruits had been stunted by the barren dogmatic field in which they were planted, by the years occupied with clearing away theologic rubbish, by the further years of struggle with slavery, and not yet mature enough to estimate the compensations of such experiences, I was able to recognize in Froude a spirit touched to finer issues than those that first laid their weird spell upon him. This man had nothing to do with the clerical life, nor with the cinders of tradition in which he delved with Dr. Newman. In "The Spirit's Trials," and "The Lieutenant's Daughter" (1847), and in "The Nemesis of Faith" (1849), was signalled a unique genius. Such a bold and original imagination, had it reached its own fruitage, must have given to the world works incomparable as the novels of Balzac or Goethe. But Froude had his vulnerable point; he could not resist the bow and spear of a figure that captivated his imagination: as Newman had captured him at Oxford, Carlyle captured him in London. It was Carlyle who persuaded Froude to renounce imaginative work and write history. The surrender might not have been made but

for the clamour with which "The Nemesis of Faith" was met by most of Froude's Oxonian friends, who for their unorthodoxy were paying a special tax to conventional morality. The book was burned at the close of a lecture by Professor Sewell in Exeter College, Oxford, of which college Froude was a Fellow; he resigned immediately, and no voice was heard in his defence. So he left Oxford to return no more until he went there as a professor.

The graphic portraiture in "Nemesis" of Dr. Newman's preaching at Oxford, and of the man himself, shows how Froude's heart had been almost torn out of him by parting from the great preacher whose beloved collaborator he had been. He was in a spiritual loneliness like that of the scholar in "Nemesis." In that time of isolation, and amid reproaches for his novels, the one man who could be to him in his scepticism what Newman had been in his old faith was Carlyle.

In boyhood Carlyle, because of his father's horror of fiction, read novels surreptitiously; but even rebellion does not free a man from parental fetters. Had it been otherwise, Carlyle would have held Froude to the form of expression which his genius had already selected. But as he discouraged the poetic form, he disliked also the form of fiction. Froude had indeed shown, in the book that enjoyed the distinction of being the last book burned at Oxford, that the truth most needed in English literature could be told only in the form of fiction.

Farewell, then, my genius! Yet a man's genius doesn't leave him so easily. Froude's 'History of England' is one of the most brilliant works of his century, but even those who have no sympathy with the carping criticisms upon it rarely fail to perceive that picturesque events and striking figures at times overpower the imagination of the author at the cost of historical judgment, although the charm of the work may be heightened. All of his historical works involved original research. He would leave his magazine in Charles Kingsley's hands and run off to Spain or elsewhere at times simply to examine one or two documents; but when the document appeared, it was sometimes suspiciously alive and entertaining. If one takes account of that, more can be got from Froude than from any other historian of England.

Personally he was enigmatic to those who were best acquainted with him. "Did you ever notice Mr. Froude's eyes?" said Mrs. Carlyle to me. "Yes," I replied, "I have observed that they are brown and clear." "At times," she said, "his eyes appear to me like those of some wild but gentle animal." Something prevented her at the moment from saying anything further, but she meant, I think, the serenity of his look, which nothing seemed to disturb. He had humour, and at times smiled with his eyes, but, however stormy the talk around him, his eyes expressed no emotion. He was intent, as if observing each one who spoke rather than what he said. I never knew him to be vehement on any point. He impressed me as profoundly sceptical on all general subjects, but rather credulous concerning persons. Once, when we were talking of some recent works directed against Christianity he said, "I should as little think of attacking Christianity as of attacking a horse. It will continue so long as it is of practical utility to a large number. But there doesn't appear to be a single command ascribed to Christ that can be really obeyed today without qualification." He nevertheless had no belief that Christianity as a system would be supplanted by anything really better. What is called "Reform" amounts, he said, to one rusty nail driving out another. Or if the driving nail be not rusty, it soon becomes so. At the time when the "Liberal" and the "Conservative" parties were competing as to which should be first to enfranchise the masses, we were walking in Kew Gardens and talking about "Progress." We came upon a fine century plant which had mounted up high from joint to joint, and was near to its time of flowering. "That plant," said Froude, "thinks it is making great progress; it has grown much this spring; next week it will blossom, and that will be the end of it. A week later its flower will be on the ground, and thenceforth no more growth or blossom, I fear." He added, "that will be the result of what is now called political progress."

Nevertheless Froude sceptically balanced the good and evil in every question. In a note to me he casually said:

Unless I am mistaken, we are observing the death struggle of the great Anti-Reform party in England. Merchants and such have become so rich by such bad means that they are in terror of the

people—and the conflict which is only beginning will witness changes of which no one living can foresee the magnitude.

Froude had a very high esteem and affection for Motley, and repeatedly referred to the way in which Motley had changed front on the subject of secession in America. He declared that while the States were seceding, Motley, then in London, welcomed the separation. It would relieve the nation from complicity with the wrong and do away with the perpetual discord of the country and corruption of its politics. "But the next time I had an opportunity to converse with Motley, and alluded to what he had said on the subject, he simply foamed at the mouth. He was all for uncompromising coercion and war. On thinking over the matter, I felt myself more inclined to his original argument than to the foam."

Froude was generous in permitting me to write with perfect freedom in his magazine on American politics. In a note of December 23, 1864, concerning an article of mine already in the January *Fraser*, he says:

I fear that on the slave question I agree more nearly with Carlyle than with you. At least I look at it, and have all my life looked at it, as a thing to be allowed to wear itself gradually away as civilization advances. You cannot treat an institution as old as mankind as a crime to be put out by force. If you do, you are unjust, and the injustice will recoil upon yourselves. You make wrong into right by treating it unfairly. You are playing over again on a new stage the old game of Philip the Second and Alva. You cannot be more persuaded of the wickedness of slavery than they were of the wickedness of heresy. The universe does not allow a section of mankind to inflict its views upon another at the point of the sword—if the sword is pressed into a service beyond the common service of ordinary average men it will kill the man that uses it.

You won't believe any of this—but you will find it to be so unless the laws under which we live in this world are suddenly altered.

Froude did not change a word of my article (January, 1865), but merely placed at the top—"By an American Abolitionist." His phrase concerning the sword, "it will kill the man that uses it," soon had a literal and fearful fulfilment.

The death of President Lincoln rendered another paper necessary. A note came from Froude (April 28):

"Will you dine with me *alone* on Sunday evening, to talk over this terrible business? I shall want you to write something about it in June *Fraser*. When the Devil is once born there is no foreseeing what will happen. The only safe prophecy is an increase of madness and sorrow.

"I shall dine at 7:45. My house is in confusion, as we are moving, but we can have two quiet rooms, and in the evening, if you like, we will go down to the Cosmopolitan Club."

I had already been engaged to write some personal recollections of Lincoln for the June *Fortnightly*, but there remained plenty to say. The article in *Fraser* duly appeared in June—"By an American Abolitionist"—the task being difficult, on account of my animadversions on the administration, in the previous article.

At the Cosmopolitan Club—a Sunday evening association—there was, after Lincoln's assassination, an exceptionally large gathering. The bullet of Wilkes Booth had destroyed the discord between parties. I was besieged with questions concerning President Andrew Johnson, and I shared the general apprehension that the wrath of America would be wasted on individual victims instead of on slavery.

The feeling of England concerning the assassination is historic; the conversations in private were remarkable. Louis Blanc was astonished at the self-restraint of the American people. He said to me, "If such a thing had happened in France, one half of the people would have tried to get the other half in prison before night." English republicans were somewhat disturbed at discovering the extent of American loyalty to a person, especially as the President had for some time been regarded as reactionary. In one small dinner company, an eminent clergyman and author, whose name I withhold, said that, shocking as the event was, it could hardly be wondered at, as Abraham Lincoln was caught between contending principles and forces with which he was incompetent to deal. "He could not go to the bottom of a thing either in the South or North. In this conflict of great forces in-

volving all humanity, Lincoln was a Polonius behind the arras, and suffered the penalty of being out of his place."

The able gentleman who said this was not aware that among his listeners there was an anti-slavery American, but the others knew, and either on that account or because the opinion was unwelcome to all, the subject was dropped. But what a despot is Death over the faculties of man! One week before I would have sanctioned that estimate of Lincoln; but the words now sounded like blasphemy.

When the odious epoch of Reconstruction arrived—as Southerners said, "when peace broke out," an irony some anti-slavery men and many slaves equally appreciated—Froude and Carlyle urged on me the absurdity of enfranchising the negroes. But, I asked, who else was there in the South to enfranchise? Were the whites to be now given the balance of power in the government they had for four years been trying to murder? Carlyle did not suggest any alternative to negro enfranchisement. But Froude argued that the rebellion was not begun in a spirit of treason to the United States. It was in defence of what certain states believed their constitutional rights. Personally they were honourable people, still convinced that they were right, and the Northerners would find in the end that their Union had a South on its hands like the Ireland that England had. In one of his many notes he says:

Our Irish experience is that the people (the peasantry), whose manifest benefit our administration was calculated to produce, who were ground into slaves by the native landowners, yet preferred and still prefer the tyranny of their own people to English patronage. It was so before the church difficulties rose; it is so at this day in matters with which the church is not concerned. On the estates where the agents enforce English methods the land is improved. The rents are thirty per cent. lower, the wages rise, the people are better housed and fed. Yet they shoot the agents and curse the landlords, and believe themselves the most oppressed of mankind. The Squireens who will let them go their own dirty way—squat, propagate, subdivide, and multiply, into dens of pauperism—may and do grind death rents out of them, impound their cattle if they don't pay—even take their hunting-whips and thrash them like dogs—and they will go through fire and water for them, die for them if

necessary, and think themselves honoured in doing it. Our Indian experience is exactly the same.

That you have killed slavery is certain enough. That the negroes will remain devoted to their old masters, and serfs as much as the Irish peasants are serfs, that the poor whites will cast their lot with them to whom they have always looked up, seems to be equally certain. The masters may accept the results of the war and return quietly to the Union under such conditions as they can get, but that they will never forgive New England and will watch for the time to be revenged under the forms of the Constitution flows necessarily from the common laws of humanity. Do what you will, the whole South will be Democrat. The New England Republicans will again be in a minority, and secession next time may come from them.

I thought of writing for *Fraser* an article on the American poetry inspired by the struggle with slavery, and submitted examples. After reading them, Froude wrote:

The American originality in the author of "Margaret," I can enjoy and admire most heartily, and so I can Lowell—but these new people fill their sails with the whirlwind of the last six years; and I am still heretic enough to regard all that not as a perennial trade wind of humanity, but as a lone tornado generated by temporary electricity; an outburst not of intelligent but of brutal forces.

Nothing violent is long-lived, and these all-absorbing, all-sweeping passions blaze like prairie grass, sweetening the ground, indeed, for a future crop—but not things in themselves proper to sympathize with. I do not recognize *poetry* in either of your friends except Howells—and he is the one of the four who has caught the disease most mildly.

Froude talked freely with me on religious topics. His brother William, the civil engineer, whom I sometimes met, maintained fraternal relations with Anthony, but remained loyal to Cardinal Newman. Carlyle did not like talk about theology, and his contempt for Cardinal Newman and Tractarianism sealed up a third of Froude's experiences. Francis William Newman's unimaginative way of dealing with Jesus repelled him. "I heard Francis Newman preach this morning at Voysey's service," Froude wrote me. "The sermon will be printed; the more important parts of it being invectives against the moral character of the unfortunate Son of David.

It may be absurd to make an idol of a man and worship him. But that is no reason why, when we have left off worshipping, we should kick him out of doors." Mr. Voysey's theism he found "dreary and passionless."

I tried to entice Froude into the committee of a contemplated Liberal Congress. But he was too skittish to be bridled. When the committee met at Huxley's house, Froude was expectedly not there. A note came explaining the cogent reasons for his absence: "Huxley reports that our meeting was a very rational one. I was detained by the *ice*. It was the last good skating day, which I could not abandon."

We used to converse on theological points in a purely historical way. Concerning a theory of mine, that Jesus had been wealthy and was of Hillel's College in Jerusalem, Froude wrote: "I cannot quite reconcile myself to a *rich* Christ. Merivale insisted once to me that the disciples were Jews of good family and position; and when I said they were fishermen—'Fishermen,' he said, 'yes, like you and me. They had their villas on the lake, and went out fishing for their amusement.' He felt, like you, that they were cultivated and educated men, or they could not have done what they did. You and he may be right, and my hesitation may be only prejudice."

Froude had discovered that he could best express his heresies as it is done in his "Short Stories of Great Subjects." For the ordinary lay reader the essays are instructive and amusing, but for those experienced in sceptical inquiry these volumes abound in historic episodes which are far-reaching parables. His analyses of Lucian were outlined to me before publication, and he drew my attention to the correspondence of Lucian's situation amid old superstitions withering and new ones growing with the situation of scholars in our time. His "Divus Cæsar" I regarded as one of the most pregnant works ever written. "It has been on my mind since 1850," he wrote me, "and belongs, as you see, to the old cycle of my ideas."

Although Froude was so severe on the Irish in his writing, Ireland had a fascination for him. His fondness for sport and for wild beauty made him happy there. In 1873 he took for the summer the beautiful mansion of Lord Lans-

downe at Derreen, and in August I passed a fortnight with him.

I had been going over my old tracks during the Franco-German War, and Froude had engaged me to write an article about it. It appeared in *Fraser*, October, 1873, under title of "Gravelotte Revisited." Fortunately it was nearly finished in France, for the yachting and excursions Froude had arranged in Ireland along with Lord Ducie and others left few hours for work. Meanwhile, some articles of Froude's on the Irish question had brought demonstrations of wrath against him, though few in that region had genuine knowledge of the subject. Probably residing in Lansdowne House was Froude's real offense. After the battle of the Boyne the estate was taken from a recluse named McSweeney, and the Lansdownes bought it for a small sum. The family sent McSweeney a present of wine to soften the blow, but he brought all the bottles before the house and smashed them on a rock. So a vendetta existed against the mansion itself.

The country around Derreen is populous with beings that do not exist—spooks, fallen spirits, imps; the peasantry get little glimpse of actual nature and fact. I could never see any hope for the southern Irish masses but transplantation; yet the Irish gentry are delightful, and their ladies among the fairest and sweetest in the world. Mrs. John Rae (wife of the late Arctic explorer), and her sister, Miss Thompson, a fine writer, I knew for many years. They are gentle and beautiful ladies; but one year they advised their own tenants in Ireland not to pay them any rent in order to make common cause with the movement against English landlords.

I met with a learned and titled Irish physician who was a materialist. When, however, I began to talk about the "banshee" superstition, I found that old Celtic sentiment, which requires every famous family to have a preternatural servitor in its livery, was too strong for him. He told some banshee anecdotes that he called "strange," but was contemptuous toward religious superstitions.

The last time I met Froude was at the burial of Carlyle at Ecclefechan, Thursday, February 10, 1881. Mr. Arthur Johnstone-Douglas, a connection of the Marquis of Queensberry, had invited me to visit him at Glen Stuart, and I trav-

eled to Scotland on Monday the seventh. The weather was then bright, and we drove about to the places associated with Carlyle—Craigenputtoch, Dunscore, Annan. Much to my astonishment Mr. Johnstone-Douglas did not know even the day of the funeral, and we had to drive some miles to the residence of Mrs. Austin, Carlyle's sister, to discover it. With this lady I had an interesting conversation. She said that her brother had been in boyhood and youth devoted to his mother, and affectionate towards his sisters. He was continually going with them to carry bundles, and was their always willing messenger. She and the other surviving sister, Mrs. Aitken of Dumfries, had always remembered that even in his later youth, so troubled with doubts about the path on which he should enter, his love for them and their mother was unfailing. He was of very sweet disposition, she declared. Mrs. Austin was a woman of veracity, and was perfectly calm when she told me this—which indeed, I did not need to be told.

Why secrecy was made about Carlyle's funeral I could only conjecture. It had been announced that the Dean of Westminster's proposal that he should be buried in the Abbey had been declined, because Carlyle had expressed a wish to be buried among his own people; but it was not certain whether this meant at Ecclefechan or beside his wife at Haddington cathedral. Neither the day nor the place of the funeral reached the public. No religious service, of course, was admissible, but it seemed to be carrying privacy too far that the coffin should be conveyed to the station in London, and from the station in Scotland to the churchyard, without any opportunity for an expression of feeling even by his friends. Johnstone-Douglas said the Scottish gentry were proud of Carlyle, though their tenants were fairly represented by one who had said to him, "What a pity yon man Tom Caerl was an infidel!" He thought that if the day had been known, the fox-hunt would have been suspended, and many gentlemen been present at the funeral. He himself did not feel entitled to enter the churchyard, having had no notification from the family, but remained in his carriage outside the gate. At the hour when Carlyle was buried, many of the villagers were off at the installation of a new minister in a

neighboring church. Only when the bell began tolling did those remaining know the hour.

At noon the hearse drove up, followed by five funeral coaches in which were Carlyle's relatives; about a hundred other persons straggled up in the snow and mud, apparently peasants; presently Tyndall arrived, and after him Froude and Lecky, all on foot.

The snow and rain now fell furiously. Several hundred children from the schools were pressing their faces through the railing of the graveyard, while only about a hundred of us surrounded the grave. The flowers on the coffin could not relieve the scene—desolate even to weirdness. Not one word was uttered. I supposed that Tyndall and Froude or Lecky would speak—but no! the patriarch of English literature was hurried into the grave in absolute silence. When I thought of the man, of what he had been to England and America, it filled me with pain, and had I not been a heretical minister, I should have uttered a farewell. Arthur Johnstone-Douglas told me that the burial was in accordance with Scottish usage, and perhaps Carlyle had ordered the silence, which might not have been so depressing had the weather been fair and everything less bedraggled.

But alas, what were sleet and snow and mud falling on the great man's grave compared with the blizzard that presently struck Carlyle's fame, and chilled the hearts of multitudes that had looked up to him! There was deep and universal feeling at the death of Carlyle, and the publications that swiftly followed froze the tears as they were falling.

As we started off for the night journey to London—Froude, Tyndall, Lecky, and myself in one compartment—we were all suffering from the dreary funeral of the man two of us certainly loved with personal tenderness. Tyndall began to say something to me, but his voice broke; my tears also were falling. With Mr. Lecky I had no intimacy, though I sometimes met him. Froude had a sad and weary look. We all sank into silence, but I think got little sleep. For myself I had enough to think of, as on the following Sunday (13th), my chapel was to be the place of a memorial discourse which would be attended by the veterans of Carlyle's time.

The "Nemesis" of Carlyle's quasi-hypnotic influence over Froude fell on the memory of Carlyle himself. After the death of Carlyle the imaginative genius of Froude resumed possession of him, and he wrote a "biography" so marked by dramatic situations, thrilling scenes, and startling effects, that I discover in momentous chapters the hand that wrote "Nemesis of Faith" and "Shadows of the Clouds." The reputation of Carlyle was so unconsciously overthrown that, had I been superstitious, I should have personified Froude's imaginative genius as a *dæmon* which, having been exorcised by Carlyle, returned to wreak posthumous revenge on his memory.

When the excitement about Froude's publications was at its height, I was one day at the London Library, and soon after, Lord Tennyson's son entered and told me his father wished to speak to me. He was in his carriage at the door, and said, "I saw you go into the door there, and wished to tell you an incident of some interest. When Carlyle's appointment of his literary executor was announced, I asked him why he had chosen Froude. He answered, 'Because of his reticence!'"

I should certainly have equally ascribed that character to Froude, and said so to Tennyson, whose distress at the publications was extreme. But I could not give any theory of the astounding affair. Tennyson's main trouble seemed to be that the bones of Carlyle should be flung about, and one evening he repeated to my wife and myself a quatrain he had composed about the delight of apes in seeing a man dragged down to their own apehood. The lines impressed me as mistaken. The people generally were as much troubled as Tennyson at the lowering of Carlyle. Carlyle had never flattered the people, he had become the great representative of anti-democratic tendencies, and they had paid him homage.

I had been haunted by apprehensions about Froude's fitness for his great task even before Carlyle's death. One day when he was already at work on the papers, I called. He gave me the letter written me just before her death by Mrs. Carlyle which I had given Carlyle. Froude read me from one of Mrs. Carlyle's letters to her husband a merry anecdote about a titled lady in London, and then said gravely,

"I hardly feel that I can print that story." I was amazed that the thought of publishing it could even occur to him. It was a fair enough bit of gossip for a wife to amuse her husband with, and decidedly witty, but quite unprintable. I went off with an uneasy mind. As Froude got deeper in his work his friends saw less of him. I have often mourned that William Allingham and I, who had so long and intimately worked with him on *Fraser*, did not together offer our assistance in assorting the enormous mass of letters and papers by which Froude was overwhelmed.

In going over again the miserable events that followed the publication of Carlyle's 'Reminiscences' and Froude's Biography, I have reached the conclusion that Froude never really knew the man. He appreciated his intellect, but not the by-ways of his genius, nor the depths of his heart. In talking over the matter with Tyndall, we agreed that the Carlyle we knew is not in the biography at all. I always, indeed, had observed Froude's simple awe in the presence of Carlyle; I never knew an instance in which he uttered any difference of opinion from him.

With a mountain of material to master, and the most complex tangles that ever beset a biographer to be unravelled—all requiring the utmost calmness of mind—Froude fell into a panic lest some one might publish a biography of Carlyle before his appeared. He feared two or three writers, among them probably myself. He knew that I had a large collection of Carlyle's letters, and for seventeen years had been making notes of his conversations, and that in Edinburgh he had given me an outline of his life. Alas, Froude did not know how I loved him, and how gladly I would have made over to him every scrap I had, and furthered him in every way. The immensity of his task overwhelmed him; he could not keep a level head under it; he hurried unnecessarily, Carlyle's 'Reminiscences' appeared full of *errata* and of things never meant for publication. In the biography, said Tyndall, "Froude damaged Carlyle and damned himself."

The burden of correcting two of the most serious errors in the biography fell on me. It was the most greivous burden of my literary life, but laid on me by every consideration of honour. One of these involved both Carlyle and his wife.

Froude and I were once passing an evening with them, when I told Carlyle of a visit I had made at Ostend to George Catlin, the American artist, who had lived among the aborigines in the West and made pictures of them. Carlyle then told us of an early pamphlet by Catlin entitled "Shut your mouth!" In it Catlin related that the Mandan Indians believed diseases entered by the mouth, and that the squaws took care to close the mouths of their sleeping children, who consequently never had measles, scarlatina, etc. Catlin adopted this theory, and Carlyle said he read his brochure with interest. Then Mrs. Carlyle told us a merry story. Once, when more ill than usual, she hid it from Carlyle, whose work was very hard. One evening just after tea Carlyle began to read and she lay on the sofa gasping, when he turned and said, "Hadrn't you better shut your mouth?" She said she felt like throwing the teacup at him. It turned out, however, that Carlyle had perceived the trouble she was trying to conceal, and in his anxiety it had occurred to him that Catlin's prescription, "Keep your mouth shut!" might help her. Froude forgot the essential part of the story, said nothing about Catlin and his book, and, instead of the narrative by which Mrs. Carlyle told her husband's anxiety for her, made it an example of his rudeness in bidding her shut her mouth. As I was the only witness who could tell the true incident, I felt bound to do so. Carlyle was never rude to his wife. Even if she made a provoking remark he took it meekly. When Carlyle stormed about anything it was about some large question; he was gentle and submissive in simply personal matters.

The other case I had to correct was a mistake of far-reaching effect. Froude wrote: "His mother early described him as 'gey ill to live with.'" This became a sort of proverb in Froude's mind; in his biography he four times winds up a statement with the sentence: "Gey ill to live with." The family were astounded; nothing could be more untrue. As Mrs. Austin had told me on the day before the funeral, and Dr. John Carlyle many a time, Carlyle had been in childhood, boyhood, youth, of amiable disposition, and always the delight of his mother. Mrs. Alexander Carlyle (Mary Aiken) told me that it was notorious in the family that her uncle

was pleasant to live with. Whence, then, came Froude's four-times repeated proverb? In one of Mrs. Carlyle's letters to her husband (afterwards published) she humourously puts in, "Thou's gey ill to deal wi'." To this Carlyle added the footnote: "Mother's allocution to me once in an unreasonable moment of mine." It will thus be seen that fond mother's momentary expression to a momentarily naughty child, that he was hard to *deal* with, had been transformed into her "description" of a son, who was the joy of her life, as hard to *live* with. "Mother's allocution to me once," not forgotten by the devoted son, is taken from his own pen and hung up as the maternal portraiture. That it was retouched by Froude with such intent is not to be thought of. He had long believed that such a genius, sometimes strong and lucid, must be hard to live with in the domestic circle, and having projected the man into the child, read the word "live" instead of "deal"—assisted no doubt by Carlyle's penmanship. After my letter in the London *Athenæum* the misquotation was of course altered in the next edition, but alas, the error can never be overtaken. For on that error, that Carlyle was "gey ill to live with," Froude's whole theory was founded; his work is pervaded by it. Carlyle has passed into history as a bad man. Also as a bad husband, though this is as far from the truth as the other notion.

An old physician related to the Welshes, who knew Mr. and Mrs. Carlyle well, told me that though they might have been less liable to occasional fretfulness if there had been a baby, they were by no means unhappy; and Mrs. Alexander Carlyle, who often staid with the Carlyles, said to me, "If uncle and aunt lived unhappily, I never discovered it, none of their relations knew it, and I am sure they did not know it themselves. Mr. Froude alone knows it."

As to this, I could not doubt that Froude's imagination had been misdirected by the imagination of Mrs. Carlyle, who not only printed a fairy-tale, but wove a little romance around herself which she made the mistake of confiding to Mazzini. The great Italian, also romantic, could readily take her confidence seriously—especially as Carlyle was indifferent to his cause. In all that Ashburton affair Carlyle was, I am sure, intent solely on the exaltation of his wife. He had vowed

when he married her against the wishes of her proud relatives that he would place her in society far above them all. When finally the doors of that society were opened to her a meddlesome friend excited her suspicion that she was invited simply by social necessity as Carlyle's wife. It was untrue; Mrs. Carlyle, though she had not Carlyle's depth of feeling, was attractive and piquant in society. But she refused the position he had achieved solely for her, and compelled him to fulfil certain social obligations alone. Mrs. Carlyle was ill advised, and was morbid under the consequences of her social action, but I feel certain that she never fell into the insanity of suspecting her husband's moral character.

The two instances of inexactitude in the biography in which I felt bound to testify seemed to classify me with all of Froude's censors. Knowing well how the sensitive hearts of Froude and his children were being torn, I grieved deeply during the affair. While deploring his lack of judgment which had thrown us all into such distress, I knew well Froude's veracity, and my love for him remained as unchanged as my love of Carlyle; the break in our relations gave me abiding pain; for a long time I met him in my dreams and would awake with tears. It gave me profound satisfaction when he was appointed professor of history in Oxford.

The last time I ever saw this beloved friend was in Westminster Abbey, October 12, 1892, at the funeral of Lord Tennyson. From my seat in the choir I could see the pallbearers some distance away, but so changed was Froude that only when he was a few yards off did I recognize him. Again I went home to have my dream, and in it clasp his hand once more. That was the last.

JOHN ESTEN COOKE

[1830—1886]

J. L. ARMSTRONG

JOHN ESTEN* COOKE, born November 3, 1830, near Winchester, Virginia, came of a line of educated and cultured men. His grandfather, Stephen Cooke, of a Philadelphia family, was graduated from Princeton in 1773. After studying medicine in the University of Pennsylvania, he enlisted as surgeon on an American vessel, was captured by the British and sent to Bermuda. There he remained some years, marrying, in 1782, Catherine, daughter of James Esten, Governor-General of the islands, a scion of an old English family. The second son, John Rogers Cooke, the father of John Esten, born in 1785, was educated at Princeton, the family having emigrated to Virginia in 1791 and settled in Alexandria, afterwards in Loudon County, near Leesburg. A third son, Philip St. George Cooke, entered the army and became a general, his daughter marrying the famous cavalry officer, J. E. B. Stuart.

John Rogers Cooke, one of the most distinguished lawyers of his day, and a member of the Virginia constitutional convention of 1830, began the practice of law in Martinsburg, where he married Miss Maria Pendleton. He afterwards moved to his estate of Glen-gary, near Winchester, and in 1839 to Richmond, remaining there to the close of his life in 1854. His eldest son, Philip Pendleton Cooke, married in the Valley and made his home at "The Vineyard," in Clark County. Thus John Esten Cooke, the second son, who spent much time with his relatives in the Valley, became familiar with two very different parts of the State.

He attended school in Richmond, but did not go to college. His elder brother was educated at Princeton, and a younger at the University of Virginia; but their father being a poor collector and a very open-handed gentleman, John Esten felt that he must be a help rather than a burden, and began to read law to this end.

But law went against the grain, while literature ran with it. His cousin, John Pendleton Kennedy, was a writer; his brother Philip was known by his tender lyric, "Florence Vane"; and David H. Strother (Porte Crayon), a connection and friend, had made a beginning. Impulse and example carried him along. In a note-book

*Pronounced *Easten*.

he states that his first literary venture, "Mauleon," appeared in 1847, and that he had then completed two other stories. In 1851 he was admitted to the bar; but manifestly the public recognized that his gifts were not in that quarter, for he never had an important case, and very few of any kind. After the middle of this decade no reference to the law is found in his note-book, and he devotes himself to literature.

All through the early fifties he wrote and swore off from writing, just as he smoked, and without avail swore off from smoking. They were his 'prentice years. A little found its way into newspapers, the *Southern Literary Messenger*, and other magazines. Still he kept writing, writing, though he never took time to polish. Some of the books published in later years were begun in this time. Much material for his history of Virginia was collected then, and in 1853 he had written four hundred pages of 'Fairfax.' He besieged Northern publishers, and knew what it was to have manuscript returned. The substance of some of the rejected stories was probably used in later years.

As early as 1851, he had charge of the *Messenger* for a month, while Thompson, the editor, was in South Carolina; and again, in 1854, he edited this magazine when Thompson was absent for several months.

In 1851 he wrote for the *Messenger* a review of Tennyson's "In Memoriam." Thompson sent a copy to the poet, "to get his autograph," and received in reply a letter from Tennyson with "Tears, Idle Tears," in his handwriting. Much of Cooke's early writing was for the *Messenger*. While the magazine was too poor to compensate him in money—at least adequately—it brought him into close touch with the literary circle in Richmond, then the best in the South, and introduced him to the authors and publishers that now and then visited the Virginia capital.

He was a voracious reader, keeping up with contemporary literature and studying everything about Virginia upon which he could lay his hands. For the latter he enumerates in a partial list the titles of thirty books. Besides this he read many French books, dipped into German, and made a beginning in Spanish. Law was thrown in, but does not count.

In 1853 'Leatherstocking and Silk' was accepted by Harper, and was published early in 1854. From that time the prospect improved; but he was only stimulated to harder work. He quotes: "Dave Strother says I am an intense worker." 'The Virginia Comedians' and 'The Youth of Jefferson' appeared before the end of 1854. At the same time he had charge of the *Messenger*. Moreover, he was writing reviews, short stories, biographical sketches and notices for

newspapers and magazines. By 1859 he had published six books and had on hand for future use a goodly store of manuscripts, for his notes jot down several titles to stories upon which he was at work. These titles were never printed, unless some appeared in magazines, but there is an occasional clue to suggest that part of the stories were subsequently reworked and issued under new titles.

At the beginning of the war Mr. Cooke enlisted as a private in the Richmond Howitzers, rose to the rank of sergeant in the battery, was transferred in the fall of 1861 to the staff of General J. E. B. Stuart and made captain of artillery and ordnance officer. In the fall of 1863 he was assigned for temporary duty in the adjutant-general's department upon Stuart's staff, with rank of major, and after the death of Stuart in 1864, was made Inspector-general of artillery on General Pendleton's staff. He was in many of the severest battles of the war, and participated with Stuart in the continuous skirmishes and brilliant raids of that indefatigable officer. His note-book tells of hairbreadth escapes from capture and from death; it tells (all in a quiet, unassuming tone) how in the thickest of the fight he led men that had lost their officers, how he rallied forlorn hopes, how he carried messages through shot and shell. The courage of the man was born of a sense of duty and overmastering love of the cause.

Even the storm and stress of war did not stop his pen. He wrote for the *Southern Illustrated News*, and probably for other papers. His 'Life of Jackson' was in the press a few months after the death of the great general, for his notes show that he was revising it in October, 1863, for a second edition, and that a pirated edition had appeared in New York that fall. He made notes on the field and afterwards copied them in ink in a note-book kept at headquarters. He industriously collected information, anecdotes, and observed carefully the men about him, especially those who were winning fame. Such data he usually worked up in winter camp. Thus, fighting and writing, he went through to the bitter end, surrendered with Lee at Appomattox, buried his silver spurs on the field rather than let them fall into the hands of the enemy, and took away with him his side arms and his faithful gray horse "Buck," who had carried him through so many perils. He marvels at his good fortune in coming through without a scratch, without serious illness, and without suffering capture.

At the close of the war he went to the lower Shenandoah Valley, and there among friends and relatives again took up his pen. In 1867 he was married to Miss Mary Frances Page, of "Saratoga," Clark County, and resided at "The Briars," in the same county. Her death, about ten years later, left him with three children. Here

he lived quietly the life of a country gentleman, earning enough by his pen for his simple wants, until 1886, when on the twenty-seventh of September he succumbed to an attack of typhoid fever.

The character of John Esten Cooke is admirable. The high ideals he sets in his stories are the ideals to which he endeavored to conform his life. Even his private notes written in camp, where morals often suffer, show unstained purity. He was void of jealousy; more rapid promotion did not excite his envy, nor greater success in letters his spleen; he rejoiced with the more fortunate. He was generous to a fault, sympathetic, and a fast friend. Hating littleness and prejudice, he accepted loyally the decision of war, and rose above the passions that followed its close. He believed in "blood," but condemned as ungentlemanly the man that presumed upon his family caste. His tribute to Jackson may be quoted of him: "No stain of insincerity, or meanness, or vain gloriousness marred a character which combined the loftiest virtues of the gentleman, the soldier and the Christian."

Beginning at the early age of seventeen, Cooke wrote continuously and voluminously—poetry, short stories, serials, novels, biographical sketches, biographies and a history. Probably as much appeared in ephemeral publications as in book form. Thirty-two titles constitute the sum of the latter, so far as I have been able to determine them. Of these, fourteen are out of print. In some instances an old book has reappeared under a new title. The amount of work he produced is remarkable, especially in a man that had no systematic plan for using his time. Much of the material is molded by fertile invention. It is a storehouse for those who would occupy the same field. In fact, it has already been discovered, for in the work of a later novelist I could cite passages that must be more than a coincidence. The latter has more art; but the material and the invention are John Esten Cooke's.

He realized that poetry was not his *forte*. Though a notice of him appeared in Griswold's 'Poets of America' (the last edition edited by Griswold) he published very little. But he frequently wrote stanzas for his friends. While some lines have merit, these are preserved more in loving remembrance than for their quality.

Cooke's early style is marred by straining for effect. While he had a large vocabulary, he lacked control of it. Where he would be fine, he is turgid; where he would be lofty, he is stilted. Pet expressions abound: bayonets always "glitter"; Stuart is ever "an immense war-machine." Emotions, sentiments are not portrayed; they are suggested by conventions, such as tears, sighs, groans, grinding teeth, a satirical smile. But there is gradual improvement, till by the close of the seventies his style is more restrained and his vocabulary is mastered. In

this decade the improvement is rapid and marked, probably under the influence of the realistic school. In a letter, several times printed, he recognizes the qualities of this school, but confesses that he cannot change. This was true as regards the kind of fiction he wrote, but not of his style. In a letter to an intimate friend he declares that "the critical and nice finish of Mr. James" is "the Hakem of the new literary dispensation." A man of Cooke's wide reading and absorbent power must necessarily have felt the influence of this style, though he would never have followed Mr. James in his vagaries.

In all his novels written prior to 1875 structure is notably faulty. He realized that a book must "end with an idea," and planned for an effective *dénouement*; but he was not able to hold unswervingly to that idea from cover to cover. 'Leatherstocking and Silk' is a series of sketches and annals loosely strung together. The 'Virginia Comedians' is now published as two separate books, either of which may be read without the other; moreover, each contains situations not germane to the end. The biographies are a shade better in structure, for he has a definite conception of the character of his subject and selects material to bring this out. In fact, his best work is probably in his short biographical sketches. But even in biography he will sometimes digress and also violate proportion. 'Surry' and 'Mohun' show not so much inability to weave fact and fiction into a unified whole as disinclination to make the necessary effort, for 'The Maurice Mystery' proves that he can, under spur, make an effective plot and hold incidents well in hand. In fact, all the stories appearing after 1875 show better technique, though in other respects they are not the equal of 'Surry' and 'Mohun.' Again, the influence of the realistic school may be assumed.

The scene in all but a very few of his stories is laid in Virginia, or, if begun elsewhere, finds its way to the Old Dominion. Nevertheless, I cannot find an authoritative expression of Cooke's purpose, as it is stated in some notices, to do for Virginia what Cooper did for New York, and Simms for South Carolina. He simply filled himself full of material where alone he had opportunity—for he was outside the State only for occasional brief trips—and colored it with his patriotic devotion. He knew his scenes, and never confused, never tangled them. He loved them dearly, as he loved the men and women that peopled them. Love of nature is marked, but is always kept subordinate to the action. He had an eye for the picturesque, and even enjoyed the horrible, for a thoroughgoing romantic scene was his delight.

Cooke was essentially a Romanticist, with marked leaning to the Gothic Tale of Horror. Sentiment characterizes his stories, is indeed their warp and woof. Sometimes it degenerates into sentimentalism, usually in his earlier work. He revels in the strange, the weird, the

awe-inspiring, in wonderful adventures, dramatic situations; nor in pure fiction does he always heed the probable. He is impatient of ordinary events and hurries over the necessary connecting links of everyday facts. But when he reaches a striking incident his interest is thoroughly aroused; with full mastery of his powers he masses his details effectively and concentrates all for the supreme effect. Herein he had power, and to no inconsiderable degree, although it is for only brief flights.

But the leading quality of his work is imagination. It is very uneven, but is never lacking. With it he reconstructed scenes from Colonial days—the Romantic period for our young country. How actual they are only a resurrected Colonial could tell; but he delved in family records and public archives for the dry facts. Into these his imagination breathed the spirit of life; it clothes them with a quaint archaic reality. In dealing with men of his own or earlier times, it never betrayed him into distortion of facts; it gave him sympathetic insight into their meaning, and enabled him to present Bacon, Berkeley, Jackson, Lee, as men of flesh and blood, not as lifeless statues. It gave him a loving and yet unflinching interpretation of the annals of his State. It took the mass of material he had so industriously gathered, seized upon the salient points, vitalized them, and a story flowed swiftly from his pen.

But faults in manner and matter are not far to seek. Chief among them is the swift rush of his pen. His notes frequently tell how fast he wrote: "I have done one hundred pages a day repeatedly." It often betrayed him into extravagant sentiment, crude color and faulty expression. True, while the fit was on him, he "worked intensely," but he revolted against restraint and authority and went his own way. Such law as he followed was absorbed, and absorbed indiscriminately. He wrote stanzas in the "In Memoriam" measure, in turn imitated Dickens, echoed Thackeray, garnished with French phrases, but he called no man master. He was rarely successful with humor, though he appreciated it. His fondness for the gloomy does not always express itself at appropriate times, and there is an occasional tendency to the didactic. In part he outgrew or held in check his faults. After the war adverse criticism from the Northern press and a public with changing taste helped to tone them down; but, unfortunately, his imagination also was toned down.

Cooke thought twenty-five years ago that his kind of fiction had passed out of vogue. But even then the *Detroit Free Press* had introduced him to a large circle of interested readers. His 'Stories of the Old Dominion' is used in the schools of the State; his 'Virginia,' issued in the Commonwealth series, is a standard history; and the publishers controlling nearly all his books now in print say

that they have printed hundreds of editions of some of the volumes, though the editions have never been large; that the best selling book of the series is 'Surry of Eagle's Nest,' and that the demand for his books has increased in the past ten years. Generations of boys will delight in 'Fairfax,' 'Surry,' 'Mohun,' and 'Hilt to Hilt'; while their elders will read his Civil War stories for their faithful portrayal of historic times, and his colonial romances for their old-time flavor and picturesque setting. Fame will not assign John Esten Cooke a high niche, but his place is secure.



LIST OF WORKS

- Leatherstocking and Silk, New York, 1854.
 The Virginia Comedians, 2 vols., New York, 1854, 1855, 1882, 1883.
 (Later reissued as Beatrice Hallam, and its sequel, Captain Ralph.)
 The Youth of Jefferson, New York, 1854.
 Ellie; or, the Human Comedy, Richmond, 1855.
 The Last of the Foresters, New York, 1856.
 Henry St. John, Gentleman, New York, 1859. (Reissued in 1883 as Bonnybel Vane.)
 Life of Thomas Jonathan Jackson, Richmond, 1863; New York, 1866, 1875. (Now issued as Stonewall Jackson.)
 Surry of Eagle's Nest, New York, 1866.
 Wearing of the Gray, New York, 1867.
 Lee and His Lieutenants, New York, 1867.
 Fairfax; or, The Master of Greenway Court, New York, 1868.
 Hilt to Hilt, New York, 1869.
 Mohun; or, The Last Days of Lee and His Paladins, New York, 1869.
 Hammer and Rapier, New York, 1870.
 The Heir of Graymount: a Novel, New York, 1870.
 Westbrooke Hall, New York, (c., 1870.)
 Out of the Foam: a Novel. (A Reissue of Westbrooke Hall), New York, c., 1871.
 Life of Robert Edward Lee, New York, (c., 1871.)
 Dr. Van Dyke: a Novel, New York, 1872.

- Her Majesty the Queen, Philadelphia, 1873.
 Pretty Mrs. Gaston, and Other Stories, New York (c., 1874.)
 Justin Harley: a Romance of Old Virginia, Philadelphia, 1875.
 Canolles: the Fortunes of a Partisan of '81, Detroit, 1877.
 Professor Pressensee, Materialist and Inventor, New York, 1878.
 Mr. Grantley's Idea, New York, 1879.
 Stories of the Old Dominion, New York, 1879.
 The Virginia Bohemians, New York, 1880.
 Virginia: a History of the People, Boston, 1883.
 Fanchette: By One of Her Admirers, Boston, 1883.
 My Lady Pokahontas, Boston, 1885.
 The Maurice Mystery, New York, 1885. (Reissued as Colonel Ross
 of Piedmont.)
 (Cooke left an incomplete MS., The Pilgrims of Maryland.)

AUTHORITIES

- Miscellany—a MS. note-book, from March 1, 1851, to the close of
 1856, with occasional entries to February, 1863.
 Note-book—containing entries from September 29th, 1863, to Jan-
 uary 9, 1864.
 Duyckinck's Cyclopædia of American Literature (1875), vol. 2, pp.
 572-577. (The more helpful matter of an earlier edition (1856)
 is brought down to date. Cooke's comment on the cut: "I am
 as ugly as sin in it.")
 Davidson's Living Writers of the South, pp. 105-112.
American (Phila.) 4: 73 (E. L. Didier.)
American Church Review, 9: 226 (J. Craik.)
Critic, 9: 181 (M. J. Preston.)
Edinburgh Review (Review of Life of Lee.) 137: 363.
Literary World (Boston.) 14: 45, 17: 337.
Southern Literary Messenger, 24: 286.

Current Histories of American Literature (containing only brief
 notices.)

[Cooke received very little attention from the leading periodicals.
 Daily and weekly newspapers, especially in the South, contained
 notices of him at the time of his death. My article is based on
 original investigation, in which I have used family records, and ap-
 proved newspaper clippings, and have read thousands of pages of
 his works.—J. L. A.]

THE OPENING OF THE BALL

From 'Beatrice Hallam.' Copyright permission kindly granted by G. W. Dillingham and Company

So the day passed, and evening drew on slowly, and the night came. Let us leave the bustling crowd hurrying toward the theater—leave the taverns overflowing with revellers—let us traverse Gloucester-street, and enter the grounds, through which a fine white gravelled walk leads to the palace. On each side of this walk a row of linden trees are ornamented with variegated lanterns, and ere long these lanterns light up lovely figures of fair dames and gallant gentlemen, walking daintily from the carriage portal to the palace. Let us enter. Before us have passed many guests, and the large apartments, with their globe lamps and chandeliers, and portraits of the king and queen, and Chelsea figures, and red damask chairs, and numerous card-tables, are already filling with the beauty and grace of that former brilliant and imposing society.

See this group of lovely young girls, with powdered hair brushed back from their tender temples, and snowy necks and shoulders glittering with diamond necklaces; see the queer patches on their chins close by the dimples; see their large falling sleeves, and yellow lace, and bodices with their silken network; see their gowns, looped back from the satin underskirt, ornamented with flowers in golden thread; their trains and fans, and high red-heeled shoes, and all their puffs and furbelows, and flounces; see, above all, their gracious smiles, as they flirt their fans and dart their fatal glances at the magnificently-clad gentlemen in huge ruffles and silk stockings, and long, broad-flapped waistcoats and embroidered coats, with sleeves turned back to the elbow and profusely laced; see how they ogle, and speak with dainty softness under their breath, and sigh and smile, and ever continue playing on the hapless cavaliers the dangerous artillery of their brilliant eyes.

Or, see this group of young country gentlemen, followers of the fox, with their ruddy faces and laughing voices; their queues secured by plain black ribbon; their strong hands, ac-

customed to heavy buckskin riding-gloves; their talk of hunting, crops, the breed of sheep and cattle, and the blood of horses.

Or, pause a moment near that group of dignified gentlemen, with dresses plain though rich; and lordly brows and clear bright eyes, strong enough to look upon the sun of royalty, and, undazzled, see the spots disfiguring it. Hear them converse calmly, simply, like giants knowing their strength; how slow and clear and courteous their tones; how plain their manners!

Lastly, see the motley throng of the humbler planters, some of the tradesmen, factors as they were called, mingled with the yeomen; see their wives and daughters, fair and attractive, but so wholly outshone by the little powdered damsels; last of all, though not least, see his bland Excellency Governor Fauquier gliding among the various groups, and smiling on everybody.

Let us endeavor to catch some of the words uttered by these various personages, now so long withdrawn from us in the far past—that silent, stern, inexorable past, which swallows up so many noble forms, and golden voices, and high deeds; and which in turn will obliterate us and our little or great actions, as it has effaced—though Heaven be thanked, not wholly!—what illustrated and adorned those times which we are now trying to depict. And first let us listen to this group of quiet, calm-looking men—fame has spoken loudly of them all.

“Your reverend opponent really got the better of you, I think, sir,” says a quiet, plain, simple gentleman, with a fine face and eye. “The ‘Twopenny-Act’ made out too clear a case, in mere point of law, to need the after-clap.”

“True, sir,” his friend replies, smiling so pleasantly, that his very name seemed to indicate his character, “but I would willingly be unhorsed again by the Reverend Mr. Camm, in a cause so good. Everything concerning Virginia, you know, is dear to me. I believe some of my friends consider me demented on the subject—or at least call me the ‘Virginia Antiquary.’”

“I consider it a very worthy designation, sir; and in spite of my opinion, that ‘The Colonel’s Dismounted’ is an appro-

priate title—I cannot be otherwise than frank ever—I am fully convinced that equity was with you. But here comes our noble Roman.”

As he speaks, a tall, fine-looking gentleman approaches, with an eagle eye, a statuesque head, inclined forward as though listening courteously, a smile upon his lips, his right hand covered with a black bandage.

“What news from Westmoreland, pray, seigneur of Chantilly?” asks the opponent of the Reverend Mr. Camm. “Do they think of testing the Twopenny-Act by suits for damages?”

“No, sir,” says the newcomer, very courteously; “I believe, however, that in Hanover county the Reverend Mr. Maury has brought suit against the collector.”

“Ah, then we shall get some information from our friend from Caroline! See, here he is. Good day, sir!”

He who now approaches has the same calm, benignant expression as the rest—an expression, indeed, which seems to have dwelt always on those serene faces of that period, so full of stirring events and strong natures. The face was not unlike that which we fancy Joseph Addison’s must have been—a quiet, serene smile, full of courtesy and sweetness, illuminated it, attracting people of all ages and conditions. When he speaks, it is in the *vox argentea* of Cicero, a gentle stream of sound, rippling in the sunlight.

“What from Caroline, pray?” asks the “dismounted Colonel,” pressing the hand held out to him with great warmth. “Do the clergy speak of bringing suit to recover damages at once, for the acts of ’55 and ’58?”

“I believe not,” the gentleman from Caroline replies, courteously, in his soft voice; “but have you not heard the news from Hanover?”

“No, sir, pray let us hear it—”

“In the action brought by the Reverend Mr. Maury against the collector, a young man of that county has procured a triumphant verdict for the collector.”

“For the collector?”

“Yes!”

“Against the clergy?”

“Yes!”

“You said a triumphant verdict?”

"One penny damages."

An expression of extreme delight diffuses itself over the face of the gentleman receiving this reply.

"And what is the name of the young man who has worked this wonder?"

"Mr. Patrick Henry."

"I have no acquaintance with him."

"I think you will have, however, sir. His speech is said to have been something wonderful; the people carried him on their shoulders, the parsons fled from the bench—I found the county, as I passed through, completely crazy with delight. But what is that small volume, peeping from your pocket, sir?" adds the speaker, with a smile at the abstracted and delighted expression of his interlocutor.

"An Anacreon, from Glasgow, sir," says the other, almost forgetting his delight at the issue of the parson's cause, as he takes the book from his pocket and opens it. It is a small thin volume, with an embossed back, covered with odd gilt figures; and the Greek type is of great size, and very black and heavy.

"Greek?" says the gentleman from Caroline, smiling serenely. "Ah, I fear it is Hebrew to me! I may say, however, that from what I have heard, this young Mr. Henry is a fair match for a former orator of that language—Demosthenes!"

"Well, sir," says the Roman, "if he is Demosthenes yonder is our valiant Alexander!"

"Who is he?"

"Is that fine face not familiar?"

"Ah, Colonel Washington! I know him but slightly; yet, assuredly, his countenance gives promise of a noble nature; he has certainly already done great service to the Government, and I wonder His Majesty has not promoted him. His promotion will, however, await further services, I fancy."

"Ah, gentlemen, you are welcome!" says a courteous voice; "Mr. Wythe, Colonel Bland, Mr. Lee, Mr. Pendleton, I rejoice to see you all; welcome, welcome!" And His Excellency Governor Fauquier, with courtly urbanity, presses the hands of his guests.

THE LAST VICEREGAL ENTRANCE

From 'Miss Bonnybel.' Copyright permission kindly granted by G. W. Dillingham and Company.

PAUL was hastening, with his arm around Blossom, toward the tree where his pony "Shag" was tied—the young gentleman's design being to convey his sweetheart behind him into Williamsburg—when suddenly both stopped, arrested by the appearance of a brilliant cavalcade.

It consisted of three richly decorated chariots, each drawn by six glossy horses, and followed by plainer vehicles. The drivers and footmen who hung behind were white English servants, as were the numerous outriders.

The first equipage contained three ladies—the rest seemed occupied chiefly by gentlemen.

As the flock of children ran out to look upon the brilliant spectacle, the head of a young lady was thrust from the window of the foremost coach, and she seemed to be calling the attention of her companions to the children.

It was a beautiful face, framed in bright curls, and looking very sweet and good-humored.

"Isn't she pretty, Paul?" said Blossom, in a whisper.

"Uncommonly," returned Paul, with the air of a connoisseur; "but look, Blossom, she is beckoning to you!"

In fact, the pretty picture of the boy and girl, with their arms around each other, had attracted the attention of the young lady, and taking advantage of a momentary pause, occasioned by a portion of the harness becoming out of place, she had really beckoned to the girl.

Blossom approached the chariot, followed by Paul, and looked with timid grace into the face of the young lady, who smiled sweetly, and gave her hand to each.

"That is a school-house, is it not, my dear?" she said; "everything is bright here, and you and all look very happy."

"That's because Blossom is so good, ma'am," said Paul politely; "everybody's happy where she is."

"Blossom," said the lady smiling, "is that your name?"

"Yes, ma'am," returned the child, "and his is Paul."

"Paul! do you hear, Susan?" said the young lady, turn-

ing to one of her companions; "what pretty names **they have** in Virginia—*Blossom* and *Paul*! and you know we **stopped** last night at *Roslyn Hall*."

Then turning to the children, the young lady added:

"I wish you would come and see me, Blossom—and you too, Paul. My name is Augusta Murray, and we are going to live in Williamsburg now."

As she spoke, the footman again mounted behind, having fixed the harness, and the young lady again gave her hand to the children, with a pleased smile.

The cavalcade then resumed its way slowly.

The flock of children, Blossom and Paul leading, surrounded and followed it, as a triumphal escort, and it went thus attended toward the old capital.

For many hours the good town of Williamsburg has been in commotion. An immense crowd has assembled, and the waves of the multitude now extend from the college of "William and Mary," past the old magazine, and the "Ra-leigh" tavern, quite onward to the steps of the capitol, where, around the base of Lord Botetourt's statue, the restless and variegated billows seem to break into foam and spray.

All classes, all costumes are seen. Plain homespun clothes and rich doublets, gentry and commoners, merchants and factors, and yeomen, and negroes, and a great crowd of students from the college of "William and Mary," who flock in gay groups along the thoroughfares, cracking jokes, like their brethren in all ages.

"Duke-of-Gloucester-Street" thus represents a jubilant carnival; it is a conglomeration of forms, plain and picturesque, old and young, male and female—jesting, laughing, shouting, jostling—awaiting the event of the day.

From time to time the crowd moves to and fro unwillingly, and as it were under protest; then rapidly divides itself into parallel columns on each side of the street; and through this space rolls a chariot, with four glossy horses. It contains some old planter in his richest pourpoint, with his wife and daughters blazing in silk and velvet and diamonds; and the driver is a portly and consequential negro, who, proud of himself, his master, and his position, looks down with aristocratic condescension on the "poor white folks."

As the chariot disappears in the direction of the palace of the governor, some richly clad gallant, mounted upon his gayly-caparisoned thoroughbred, prances by in the same direction; and if he be handsome he occasions favorable remarks from the damsels, whose heads are visible in the windows above.

He is succeeded by some country cart of rude pine board, drawn by a solemn-looking donkey; and as the old countryman and his wife bounce up and down, the heads at the windows utter jests and laughter—a taste for the grotesque having characterized the maidens of that epoch, as it does the damsels of to-day.

With the uproarious crowd mingle members of the House of Burgesses, and many personages who seem to look with a philosophic eye on the carnival. These do not laugh or jest; they wait; they seek for the currents of popular opinion, and continue to gaze silently.

All at once, in the midst of the tumult, a bell is heard, and this is followed by a shout.

Then a great undulation takes place in the mass; the waves roll right and left, young girls are precipitated into strangers' arms; through the open space comes on a troop of horsemen from the direction of the palace—Lord Dunmore's guards, who occupy barracks near at hand.

They ride vigorous horses, and are clad in the British uniform, being, indeed, Englishmen. They disappear at the western end of Gloucester Street, followed by some murmurs.

The crowd closes after them; the bells continue to ring; the windows are more densely crowded; urchins even mount upon the old magazine, and clasp the flag-staff bearing aloft the banner of St. George. A great shout tells that the object of all this excitement has entered the capitol.

The confusion becomes now like Pandemonium. The heads of young girls are thrust to a dangerous distance from the windows; handkerchiefs are violently waved by these splendor-loving youthful personages; and the number of damsels, children, and all weaker characters who are precipitated upon alien bosoms is more marked than ever.

But the end is accomplished; the center of the street is left free.

A score of the guards, riding four abreast, precede the cavalcade which we have seen stop a moment near the old field school. As many follow it.

The first chariot contains the Countess of Dunmore, wife of His Excellency the Governor, with her daughters, the Ladies Susan and Augusta.

The second is occupied by Lady Catherine and her brothers, the Honorable Alexander and John Murray.

The third contains Lord Fincastle, Captain Foy, the private secretary of His Excellency, and his wife. Captain Foy looks forth calmly on the crowd—his pale, quiet face betrays nothing.

But the countess, her daughters and her sons, are plainly gratified by their reception. The young ladies especially, with their rosy and good-humored faces, seem far from indifferent to the shouts of welcome which greet them. They look out and smile, and raise their eyes to the fair faces at the windows, or scan the crowd.

The crowd looks back amiably. It pays no attention to Lord Fincastle, Captain Foy, or the sons of His Excellency. They are accustomed to lords and honorables, and prefer the smiling faces of the young ladies.

Thus the cortège passes along Gloucester Street, accompanied by the crowd which bears it on its way. The bells continue to ring—a band of music in the palace grounds commences an inspiring march—the chariots enter the great gateway, flanked as now by the two guard-houses—and then the Scottish lindens hide them from the eyes of the multitude.

Virginia has beheld her last viceregal “entrance.”

THE EARL

From 'Fairfax.' Copyright permission kindly granted by G. W. Dillingham and Company.

THE trampling which George had heard all at once became louder; a hoarse voice hallooed to the dogs; and in an instant a tall huntsman, mounted on a fiery animal of great size and muscle, thundered from a narrow bridle-path into the open space.

The stag had fallen, but, half raised upon one knee, was goring the dogs with his huge antlers. They strove to clutch him by the throat, but he foiled them, one and all, and several of them had already received wounds when the huntsman reached the spot. The sight seemed to arouse a wild ferocity in him. His cheeks flushed crimson, his eyes glared, and leaping from his horse, he drew his *couteau de chasse*, and threw himself into the midst of the dogs.

The stag made a last desperate effort. He seemed to feel that all was over. The dangerous antlers were lowered to pierce the hunter's breast—but all was in vain. The nervous hand grasping the sharp hunting-knife, darted forward—the blood spouted forth—and the stag fell to the earth, his throat cut nearly through and through.

The hunter rose, and calmly wiped the blood from his knife on his sleeve. Then he turned to the youth. George had thus an opportunity to scan his appearance. He was a man of middle age, with a tall, gaunt figure, penetrating eyes, and lips, which seemed to indicate a temperament rather melancholy and cynical than happy. He wore a brown peruke, and otter-skin cap, with a buck's tail stuck in it, and tall boots, with heavy spurs. The remainder of his costume was rich, but discolored by rain and sun. The coat had once been profusely laced, and the orange silk waistcoat still showed traces of gold embroidery; but the suit, like its wearer, appeared to have "seen better days."

The hunter had carelessly wiped the blade of his French *couteau de chasse* on his cuff, and now scanned with great calmness his companion.

"A stag of ten, sir," he said, in a quiet, deep voice; "you were fortunate to be in at the death."

"It is bloody sport," returned the young man, "but wonderfully exciting. What will you do with the carcass of the deer, sir?"

"Carry it home with me," returned the huntsman.

And whistling to his horse, which came slowly to his side, he raised the ponderous body, and threw it across the front of the saddle. Then mounting, he said:

"You were going in this direction—were you not, sir?"

George replied in the affirmative; and followed by the dogs, of whom many limped painfully, they took their way straight toward the river.

"A day for an emperor!" said the stranger in a deep voice. Then all at once smiling grimly, he looked at the young man and added: "but that may seem an improper distinction to you—you appear to be a Virginian, and Virginians are all republicans."

"I am a loyal subject of His Majesty, George II," returned the boy, "but God made the sunshine for all alike—did he not, sir?"

A grim smile seemed to deepen on the stranger's face.

"No doubt, no doubt," was the half indifferent reply, "but the lion has more right to the forest than the jackal—if not to the sunshine. You see, sir, that is the divine right of kings, and his court of tigers, leopards and panthers, have their privileges of nobility."

George looked puzzled. The strange huntsman seemed to aim at provoking discussions; but it was difficult to reply to him.

"You dissent," continued the grim speaker, "but you don't reply to me. Come, say now, my chance friend—is not all this proper? Should not the lion rule the forest—the eagle the air? Should not the beautiful tigers and cougars be above foxes—hyenas?"

"Oh, assuredly!" said George, "but kings and nobles are not lions or eagles always—great lords are very often foxes, I have heard. And tell me, is it just, sir, that because the fox bites the heel of the huntsman, as in the fable, and saves the life of the lion—is it just that the lion should declare the foxes throughout all time superior to the higher class of animals?"

"Good God!" said the stranger, "you strike hard at heredi-

tary privilege! You are a republican—you would overturn *class?*”

“I would raise up worth!” said George with animation; “I would have the strong and pure, instead of the weak and corrupt, at the head of affairs. I think when God gives integrity and powerful brain to a man, he should hold the reins of power, rather than his inferiors, though his origin be as obscure as a peasant’s. Is not that entirely rational, sir?”

“Hum! hum!” said the stranger with his former smile, “I was not wrong in declaring you a republican—but that’s no matter. What care *we* for kings or nobles in the wilds here? Here’s the river.”

And with these laconic words the huntsman pushed his horse into the water; and, half fording, half swimming, soon reached the opposite bank. George was there as quickly, and they again set forward—soon issuing from the forest into the waving prairie, whose myriads of brilliant flowers were glittering in the rich light of the sinking sun.

All at once two figures on horseback appeared a quarter of a mile in advance of them; and these two figures plainly descried them, and awaited their approach.

George recognized Falconbridge and Miss Argal. He rode his white thoroughbred, she her little filly—and standing in the tall grass which reached nearly to the backs of their horses, they presented, in the golden flood of sunlight, a richly picturesque appearance.

“I am very glad to see you,” said Falconbridge, pushing forward and shaking George’s hand, with a gay smile; then bowing courteously to the stranger, he added, “give you good day, sir.”

The hunter inclined coolly; but something in the face of the young man, or his tone of voice, seemed to affect him strangely. His penetrating gaze riveted itself upon the proud, laughing features of Falconbridge, and a shadow passed over his brow, like that of a floating cloud.

“It is strange!” the grim lips murmured; “what a singular resemblance!”

Falconbridge did not observe the expression or the tone. He had turned to George, and began to explain how the young lady and himself, in riding out, had lost their way.

His manner, when he addressed or looked at her, had changed greatly. There was something ardent and impassioned in his gaze as it rested on her face; and the lady was not backward in returning it with looks almost as significant of her feelings. By some fatality this emotion seemed suddenly to have ripened in both hearts—thenceforth it was plain that the young lady was the fate of Falconbridge—his fate for weal or woe.

"And Miss Argal," said George, when Falconbridge had told how they had circled at random over the prairie, "was she frightened?"

"Oh, no! she has behaved like a heroine, in spite of her utter ignorance of the road back of her home."

"I can't think where we are," said the young lady, with one of her pretty smiles. But for some vague reason George felt as if this declaration was not true. There was an imperceptible constraint in her manner as she spoke; and his truthful instinct told him that there was deception of some sort beneath her apparent candor. He did not reply, but turning to his companion said:

"We are not far from Greenway Court, I believe, sir."

"Some distance," returned the huntsman coolly, "but the path is well beaten."

And with a courteous but cold inclination to the young lady, he set forward, followed by the party. The sun ran in a stream of rich purple light across the hills, and far away beyond the mountains; the golden cloud ships slowly floated off into the distance and were lost; and as the shades of night descended and the stars came out, they reached the old mansion of Greenway.

The tall huntsman tied his bridle to the bough of a tree, lifted the carcass of the deer to the ground, and turned toward the porch. As he did so, old John appeared upon the threshold, and bowing low, respectfully approached.

"Dismount if you please, Miss Argal," said the hunter, with grave courtesy, "and honor my poor house with your presence."

"Lord Fairfax!" exclaimed George, "I might have known that you were Lord Fairfax—but my mind was busy with other thoughts!"

And something like a blush came to the cheeks of the boy. The Earl smiled, and pressing the young man's hand, said in a friendly tone:

"I am glad you did not know me—had you recognized one of those 'foxes' you spoke of you would have expressed yourself, perhaps, less honestly."

And with courteous gesture, Lord Fairfax marshalled his guests before him into the mansion.

SIR WILLIAM BERKELEY

From 'Virginia, A History of the People.' With kind permission of Houghton Mifflin Company.

THE character of Sir William Berkeley, like Bacon's, is read in the events of his career. He was utterly devoted to monarchy and the church, and fought persistently for both. In defense of the one he persecuted dissent, and to support the other he waded in blood. He was not a cruel man by nature, but rebellion made him pitiless. His allegiance was a craze which warped his whole nature. To that superstition this loving husband, warm friend, and courtly gentleman sacrificed everything—his old friends, his peace of mind, his name in Virginia and in history. For a quarter of a century he ruled the colony to the fullest satisfaction of the people. He was an elegant host and a cordial companion, who made everybody welcome. He displayed not the least desire to invade the rights of the Virginians; on the contrary he defended them on every occasion. It may be said with truth that in all these years he was the sincere friend of Virginia and the Virginians. All his interests and affections were centred there—in his wife and his home. It was "the most flourishing country the sun ever shone over," he said. But one day rebellion raised its head in this beautiful land. His idol, the Divine right, was flouted by these old friends. That moment he became a changed man. The Virginians he had loved so were monsters. He made war on them; that was natural and commendable, since they made war on him. But what was not commendable, was, that he was merciless to them when they were at his mercy; and that having shed the blood of the husbands, he insulted the wives for their very devotion.

It is a study. Scarcely does all history show us a stranger picture of this poor human nature; a more lamentable portrait than that of the courtly gentleman, with the friendly smile for everybody, growing to be the pitiless old despot, with the fires of hate burning under the white hairs and the insatiable thirst for blood in the once kindly heart.

THE SINGLE COMBAT

From 'Surry of Eagle's-Nest.' Copyright permission kindly granted by G. W. Dillingham and Company.

WE had followed the enemy for more than half a mile, when, all at once, twenty yards in front, I saw Fenwick. He was mounted upon a splendid bay, and wore a pistol and sabre.

Mordaunt had already recognized him, and was pursuing him like an avenging Nemesis, apparently forgetful of all else.

"At last!" I heard him say, with a hoarse growl, through his close-set teeth.

And, without another word, he darted upon his adversary.

Mordaunt's horse, driven on with bloody spurs, made long and desperate leaps—I saw his rider rise to his full height in the saddle—then his weapon passed to his left shoulder, and I knew that he was about to make, as he came up with his adversary, that terrible "right cut" which I had seen him deliver in battle.

The thundering stride of his great black brought him opposite Fenwick. I saw his sabre gleam in the moonlight as it whirled—when, suddenly, Fenwick's horse fell, shot through the body by one of the cavalymen behind, and Mordaunt's blow passed over the rider's head.

In an instant Fenwick was on his feet, and, as Mordaunt rode at him, fired. The bullet pierced the neck of the black, and he staggered forward—Mordaunt leaping from the saddle as he fell.

Then he rushed upon Fenwick, and they closed, breast to breast, in a mortal struggle.

Absorbed by this passionate encounter, I forgot all else, and checked my horse to witness it.

Fenwick was evidently an excellent swordsman, and I saw that he was brave; but he was no match for his adversary. Mordaunt drove him, step by step, across the road, toward a gigantic oak, which stretched its gnarled branches above, in the moonlight—and then, with his back against the trunk, Fenwick could retreat no farther.

The moon shone full upon his face—it was distorted by an expression which might have done honor to the mythologic furies. He struck at Mordaunt with the fury of despair—then the combat terminated.

Rushing upon him, with his sabre at tierce point, Mordaunt drove the keen weapon through his breast, and the point was buried in the tree beyond.

Fenwick remained erect—stretched out his arms—and his sword fell from his grasp.

“Die!” exclaimed Mordaunt, folding his arms, and speaking in a tone which it is impossible to describe. “But, before your black soul goes before its judge, reply to me!”

Fenwick’s drooping eyes slowly opened. He looked at his adversary as the bleeding wolf caught in the trap looks at the huntsman—sidewise, with sullen and bloodshot eyes.

“Why did you make my existence one lifelong agony?” said Mordaunt, hoarsely. “What harm had I done you, that you should render me thus wretched?”

“I hated you!” came in a savage murmur from Fenwick; and the blood rushed to his lips, as he glared at his enemy.

“Why did you hate me?”

“Because she loved you.”

Mordaunt’s face grew rigid.

“Enough of that. What brought you here to-night?”

“To carry off the other.”

“Violet Grafton?”

“Yes,” he gasped.

“And kill me, if you found me there?”

“Yes! hate! hate! eternal hate for you—that—goes with me—I die with that!”—

And again stretching out his arms, Fenwick fell forward, the sword snapping in his body.

A DESERTER

From 'Wearing of the Gray.' Copyright by E. B. Treat and Company. By kind permission of the publishers.

OF all human faculties, surely the most curious is the memory. Capricious, whimsical, illogical, acting ever in accordance with its own wild will, it loses so many "important events" to retain the veriest trifles in its deathless clutch. Ask a soldier who has fought all day long in some world-losing battle, what he remembers most vividly, and he will tell you that he has well-nigh forgotten the most desperate charges, but recalls with perfect distinctness the joy he experienced in swallowing a mouthful of water from the canteen on the body of a dead enemy.

A trifling incident of the second battle of Manassas remains in my memory more vividly than the hardest fighting of the whole day, and I never recall the incident in question without thinking, too, of De Quincey's singular paper, "A Vision of Sudden Death." The reader is probably familiar with the article to which I refer—a very curious one, and not the least admirable of those strange leaves, full of thought and fancy, which the "Opium Eater" scattered among the readers of the last generation. He was riding on the roof of a stage-coach, when the vehicle commenced the descent of a very steep hill. Soon it began moving with mad velocity, the horses became unmanageable, and it was obvious that if it came in collision with anything, either it or the object which it struck would be dashed in pieces. All at once, there appeared in front, on the narrow road, a light carriage, in which were seated a young man and a girl. They either did not realize their danger or were powerless to avoid it; and on swept the heavy stage, with its load of passengers, its piled-up baggage, and its maddened horses—rushing straight down on the frail vehicle with which it soon came in collision. It was at the moment when the light little affair was dashed to pieces, the stage rolling with a wild crash over the boy and girl, that De Quincey saw in their awe-struck faces that singular expression which he has described by the phrase, "A Vision of Sudden Death."

It requires some courage to intrude upon the literary domain of that great master, the "Opium Eater," and the comparison will prove dangerous; but a reader here and there may be interested in a *vision of sudden death* which I myself once saw in a human eye. On the occasion in question, a young, weak-minded, and timid person was instantaneously confronted, without premonition or suspicion of his danger, with the abrupt prospect of an ignominious death; and I think the great English writer would have considered my incident more stirring than his own.

* * * * *

There is a French proverb which declares that although you may know when you set out on a journey, you do not know when you will arrive. Those who journey through the fine land of memory are, of all travellers, the most ignorant upon that score, and are apt to become the most unconscionable vagarists. Memory refuses to recall one scene or incident without recalling also a hundred others which preceded or followed it. "You people," said John Randolph to a gentleman of an extensive clan, with which the eccentric orator was always at war, "you people all take up each other's quarrels. You are worse than a pile of fish-hooks. If I try to grasp one, I raise the whole bunch." To end my preface, and come to my little incident. I was sitting on my horse near General Stuart, who had put in the skirmishers, and was now superintending the fire of his artillery, when a cavalryman rode up and reported that they had just captured a deserter.

"Where is he?" was Stuart's brief interrogatory.

"Coming yonder, General."

"How do you know he is a deserter?"

"One of my company knew him when he joined our army."

"Where is he from?"

"_____ County."

And the man mentioned the name of a county of Western Virginia.

"What is his name?"

"M_____."

(I suppress the full name. Some mother's or sister's heart might be wounded.)

"Bring him up," said Stuart coldly, with a lowering glance from the blue eyes under the brown hat and black feather. As he spoke, two or three mounted men rode up with the prisoner.

I can see him at this moment with the mind's eye, as I saw him then with the material eye. He was a young man, apparently eighteen or nineteen years of age, and wore the blue uniform, tipped with red, of a private in the United States Artillery. The singular fact was that he appeared completely at his ease. He seemed to be wholly unconscious of the critical position which he occupied; and as he approached, I observed that he returned the dark glance of Stuart with the air of a man who says, "What do you find in my appearance to make you fix your eyes upon me so intently!" In another moment he was in Stuart's presence, and calmly, quietly, without the faintest exhibition of embarrassment, or any emotion whatever, waited to be addressed.

Stuart's words were curtest of the curt.

"Is this the man?" he said.

"Yes, General," replied one of the escort.

"You say he is a deserter?"

"Yes, sir; I knew him in ——— County, when he joined Captain ———'s company; and there is no sort of doubt about it, General, as he acknowledges that he is the same person."

"Acknowledges it!"

"Yes, sir; acknowledges that he is M———, from that county; and that after joining the South he deserted."

Stuart flashed a quick glance at the prisoner, and seemed at a loss to understand what fatuity had induced him to testify against himself—thereby sealing his fate. His gaze—clear, fiery, menacing—was returned by the youth with apathetic calmness. Not a muscle of his countenance moved, and I now had an opportunity to look at him more attentively. He was even younger than I at first thought him—indeed, a mere boy. His complexion was fair; his hair flaxen and curling; his eyes blue, mild, and soft in their expression as a girl's. Their expression, as they met the lowering glances

of Stuart, was almost confiding. I could not suppress a sigh—so painful was the thought that this youth would probably be lying soon with a bullet through his heart.

A kinder-hearted person than General Stuart never lived; but in all that appertained to his profession and duty as a soldier, he was inexorable. Desertion, in his estimation, was one of the deadliest crimes of which a human being could be guilty; and his course was plain—his resolution immovable.

"What is your name?" said the General coldly, with a lowering brow.

"M———, sir," was the response, in a mild and pleasing voice, in which it was impossible to discern the least trace of emotion.

"Where are you from?"

"I belonged to the battery that was firing at you, over yonder, sir."

The voice had not changed. A calmer tone I never heard.

"Where were you born?" continued Stuart, as coldly as before.

"In ————, Virginia, sir."

"Did you belong to the Southern Army at any time?"

"Yes, sir."

The coolness of the speaker was incredible. Stuart could only look at him for a moment in silence, so astonishing was this equanimity at a time when his life and death were in the balance. Not a tone of the voice, a movement of the muscles, or a tremor of the lip indicated consciousness of his danger. The eye never quailed, the colour of his cheek never faded. The prisoner acknowledged that he was a deserter from the Southern Army with the simplicity, candour, and calmness of one who saw in that fact nothing extraordinary, or calculated in any manner to affect his destiny unpleasantly. Stuart's face flashed; he could not understand such apathy; but in war there is little time to investigate psychological phenomena.

"So you were in our ranks, and you went over to the enemy?" he said with a sort of growl.

"Yes, sir," was the calm reply.

"You were a private in that battery yonder?"

"Yes, sir."

Stuart turned to an officer, and pointing to a tall pine near, said in brief tones:

“Hang him on that tree!”

It was then that a change—sudden, awful, horrible—came over the face of the prisoner; at that moment I read in the distended eyeballs the “vision of sudden death.” The youth became ghastly pale; and the eyes, before so vacant and apathetic, were all at once injected with blood, and full of piteous fright. I saw in an instant that the boy had not for a single moment realized the terrible danger of his position; and that the words “Hang him on that tree!” had burst upon him with the sudden and appalling force of a thunder-bolt. I have seen human countenances express every phase of agony; seen the writhing of the mortally wounded as their life-blood welled out, and the horror of the death-struggle fixed on the cold upturned faces of the dead; but never have I witnessed an expression more terrible and agonizing than that which passed over the face of the boy-deserter, as he thus heard his sentence. He had evidently regarded himself as a mere prisoner of war; and now he was condemned to death! He had looked forward, doubtless, to mere imprisonment at Richmond until regularly exchanged, when, “Hang him on that tree,” burst upon his ears like the voice of some avenging Nemesis.

Terrible, piteous, sickening, was the expression of the boy’s face. He seemed to feel already the rope around his neck; he choked; when he spoke his voice sounded like the death-rattle. An instant of horror-struck silence; a gasp or two as if the words were trying to force their way against some obstacle in his throat; then the sound came. His tones were not loud, impassioned, energetic, not even animated. A sick terror seemed to have frozen him; when he spoke it was in a sort of moan.

“I didn’t know,” he muttered in low, husky tones. “I never meant—when I went over to Maryland—to fight against the South. They made me; I had nothing to eat—I told them I was a Southerner—and so help me God, I never fired a shot. I was with the wagons. Oh! General, spare me; I never—”

There the voice died out; and as pale as a corpse, trem-

bling in every limb—a spectacle of helpless terror which no words can describe, the boy waited his doom.

Stuart had listened in silence, his gaze riveted on the speaker; his hand grasping his heavy beard; motionless amid the shell which were bursting around him. For an instant he seemed to hesitate—life and death were poised in the balances. Then with a cold look at the trembling deserter, he said to the men:

“Take him back to General Lee, and report the circumstances.”

With these words he turned and galloped off; the deserter was saved, at least for the moment.

I do not know his ultimate fate; but if he saw General Lee in person, and told his tale, I think he was spared. That great and merciful spirit inflicted the death-penalty only when he could not avoid it.

Since that day I have never seen the face of the boy—not ever expect to see it. But I shall never forget that “vision of sudden death” in his distended eyes, as Stuart’s cold voice ordered, “Hang him on that tree!”

HOW BREATHED FOUGHT HIS GUN

From ‘Mohun.’ Used by kind permission of G. W. Dillingham and Company.

Two guns which had been firing on the enemy were still in battery on a hill; upon these a heavy Federal skirmish line was steadily moving; and beside the guns, Breathed and Fitzhugh Lee sat their horses, looking coolly at the advancing line.

“Give them a round of canister, Breathed!” exclaimed General Fitzhugh Lee.

Breathed obeyed, but the skirmish line continued bravely to advance. All at once, there appeared in the woods behind them, a regular line of battle advancing, with flag fluttering.

To remain longer on the hill was to lose the guns. The bullets were whizzing around us, and there was but one course left—to fall back.

“Take the guns off, Breathed!” exclaimed the general; “there is no time to lose! Join the command in the new position, farther down the road!”

Breathed looked decidedly unwilling.

"A few more rounds, general!"

And turning to the men, he shouted—

"Give them canister!"

At the word, the guns spouted flame, and the canister tore through the line of skirmishers, and the Federal line of battle behind; but it did not check them. They came on more rapidly and the air was full of balls.

"Look out for the guns, Breathed! Take them off!" exclaimed the general.

Breathed turned toward one of the pieces, and ordered:

"Limber to the rear!"

The order was quickly obeyed.

"Forward!"

The piece went off at a thundering gallop, pursued by bullets.

"Only a few more rounds, general!" pleaded Breathed. "I won't lose the guns!"

"All right!"

As he spoke, the enemy rushed upon the single gun.

Breathed replied by hurling canister in their faces. He sat his horse unflinchingly. Never had I seen a more superb soldier.

The enemy were nearly at the muzzle of the piece.

"Surrender!" they were heard shouting; "surrender the gun!"

Breathed's response was a roar, which hurled back the front rank.

Then, his form towering amid the smoke, his eyes flashing, his drawn sabre whirled above his head, Breathed shouted—

"Limber up!"

The cannoneers seized the trail; the horses wheeled at a gallop; the piece was limbered up; and the men rushed down the hill to mount their horses, left there.

Then around the gun seemed to open a volcano of flame. The Federal infantry were right on it. A storm of bullets cut the air. The drivers leaped from the horses drawing the piece, thinking its capture inevitable, and ran down the hill.

In an instant they had disappeared. The piece seemed in the hands of the enemy—indeed, they were almost touching it—a gun of the Stuart Horse Artillery for the first time was to be captured!

That thought seemed to turn Breathed into a giant. As the drivers disappeared, his own horse was shot under him, staggered, sunk, and rolled upon his rider. Breathed dragged himself from beneath the bleeding animal, rose to his feet, and rushing to the lead horses of the gun, leaped upon one of them, and struck them violently with his sabre to force them on.

As he did so the horse upon which he was mounted fell, pierced by a bullet through the body.

Breathed fell upon his feet, and, with the edge of his sabre, cut the two leaders out of the traces. He then leaped upon one of the middle horses—the gun being drawn by six—and started off.

He had not gone three paces, when the animal which he now rode fell dead in turn. Breathed rolled upon the ground, but rising to his feet, severed the dead animal and his companion from the piece, as he had done the leaders.

He then leaped upon one of the wheel-horses—these alone being now left—struck them furiously with his sabre—started at a thundering gallop down the hill—and pursued by a hail-storm of bullets, from which, as General Lee says in his report, “he miraculously escaped unharmed,” carried off the gun in safety and rejoined the cavalry, greeted by a rolling thunder of cheers.

Such was the manner in which Breathed fought his artillery, and the narrative is the barest and most simple statement of facts.

Breathed came out of the war a lieutenant-colonel only. Napoleon would have made him a marshal.

BAND IN THE PINE WOOD

Oh! band in the pine wood, cease,
Cease with your splendid call
The living are brave and noble
But the dead were the bravest of all.

They throng to the martial summons,
The loud triumphant strain
And the dear bright eyes of long dead friends
Come to the heart again.

They come with the ringing bugle,
And the deep drum's mellow roar,
And the heart is faint with longing
For the hand it will clasp no more.

Oh! band in the pine wood, cease,
Or the heart will melt in tears
For the gallant eyes, and the smiling lips,
And voices of old years.

A SIGH FOR ENGLAND

If I could choose this golden morn
Of summer when the days are long,
My music, I would listen to
The English skylark's song.

If I could see what more than all
In the wide world I long to see,
Give me the English sunshine dashed
On castle, tower or tree.

Only to tread where Shakespeare trod,
Only to see the daisies grow,
Only to hear in English trees
The wind's talk, soft and low.

But swiftly fly the passing years,
And all is but a dream at best;
I dream of the dear English fields
To waken in the West.

PHILIP PENDLETON COOKE

[1816—1850]

F. V. N. PAINTER

TOO often the light of genius is early extinguished by the tomb. The promise given by early achievements is never to be realized; and we deplore a loss without ever understanding its nature or extent. This truth finds exemplification in the literary annals of every country; and the life of Philip Pendleton Cooke affords us another melancholy illustration. Before his gifts had reached their full maturity, and before he could carry out a moiety of the literary schemes of his fertile mind, he was suddenly taken away.

Philip Pendleton Cooke, the eldest of a family of thirteen children, was born in Martinsburg, Virginia, October 16, 1816. He belonged to a family characterized by intellectual vigor. For forty years his father practised in the courts of Virginia with distinction; and his uncle, General Philip St. George Cooke, wrote the "Conquest of New Mexico and California," a historic episode, in which he had taken an honorable part. His younger brother, John Esten Cooke, was one of the foremost novelists and biographers of the Old Dominion.

Philip entered Princeton College at the age of fifteen. He did not distinguish himself as a student; for his fondness for outdoor sports allured him from his books, and the old English poets, particularly Chaucer and Spenser, had more charms for him than Latin and mathematics. But four years later he obtained his degree; and though he was probably deficient in his knowledge of his text-books, he brought away with him a literary taste and literary attainments far beyond his years.

While he was at Princeton the impulse of poetry laid hold upon him. In the *Knickerbocker Magazine* for July, 1833, we find, under the pseudonym of *Frank Beverly*, his "Song of the Sioux Lovers." It is, to be sure, a juvenile performance; yet it is far above the reach of most sophomores. Here is the first stanza, which certainly has a dashing rhythm:

Gay sunlight is dancing
O'er forest and glen;
And the bright beams are kissing
My steed's silver mane;

As he strikes the green heather,
Oh, wild is his neigh,
Impatient, Azula,
To bear thee away.

His father was now living at "Glengary," a beautiful estate near Winchester. Here the young graduate entered upon the study of law; but, in spite of many good resolutions, he never gave to his profession a whole-hearted service. The fields and woods of the Valley of the Shenandoah had more attractions for his sensitive, poetic nature than had the formidable pages of Blackstone. In an unpublished letter, written in 1841, he says, in seeming recognition of his delinquencies, "I go this day to the serious study of the law . . . I make from this out a dead set at the law, and *I will* do my duty."

There was another distraction in the early pursuit of the law. He was in love with an accomplished young lady, Miss Anne Tayloe Burwell, whom he married before he reached the age of twenty-one. The union was a singularly happy one. He was a man of domestic tastes and strong affections. Not long after his marriage he made his home at "The Vineyard," in Clarke County, where he delighted in his flowers, fruit trees, poultry yard, and congenial hunting companions. "I am blessed in my fireside," he wrote, "here on the banks of the Shenandoah, in view and within a mile of the Blue Ridge; I go to county towns at the sessions of the courts, and hunt, and fish, and make myself as happy with my companions as I can."

An unpublished letter, dated at "The Vineyard" in 1849, gives us a glimpse of his warm filial affection and fond parental price. Speaking of his mother, he exclaims, "God bless her! How my heart fills with warm affections when I think of her; and how I recall the old-time scenes! Her face, with the twinkle of the eyes, and that liberal mouth of hers, so expressive of the fun of which she was full, is as clearly before me as if she was bodily present. It gives me a great deal of pleasure to catch lurking in the faces of my children a likeness here and there to her; sometimes Pen looks wonderfully like her—I mean, of course, in expression."

During all these years of love-making, legal practice, and gay hunting-parties, the love of literature and the impulse of authorship did not leave him. From time to time he made notable contributions both in prose and verse to the periodicals of that day, and in particular to the *Southern Literary Messenger*. But too often he was satisfied with the inner enjoyment of poetic inspiration; and many a beautiful conception of his prolific mind never flowered into realization. "Procrastination," he once wrote to a friend, "is a poison of my very marrow. Moreover, since the 'first wispings of the leaf,'

my whole heart has been in the woods and on the waters—every rising sun that could be seen *I have seen*, and I never come in from my sport until too much used up to do more than adopt this epitaph of Sardanapalus—Eat, drink, etc.”

His hunting associates hardly formed a congenial atmosphere for the development of his literary gifts. As a rule, they were far more prosaic in temperament, and entertained an ill-disguised contempt for his poetic pursuits. “What do you think of a friend of mine,” he once humorously wrote, “a most valuable, and worthy, and hard-riding one, saying gravely to me a short time ago, ‘I wouldn’t waste time on a d——d thing like poetry; you might make yourself, with your sense and judgment, a useful man in settling neighborhood disputes and differences.’” Though he could smile at this prosaic limitation, it may well be doubted whether he was able to escape entirely its chilling effect.

His earliest noteworthy production was a series of articles on “English Poetry” that he contributed under the *nom de plume* of *Larry Lyle* to the *Southern Literary Messenger*, in 1835. He was then nineteen years old; and the essays exhibited a remarkable knowledge and maturity of thought. He delighted in the early English poets; and in these articles he dwells fondly on Chaucer and Spenser. He closes the series with Robert Burns; and though he gives due recognition to the other Scottish bards, he declares that “Robin of Ayr had the richest song of them all.”

He wrote a number of stories in prose for the *Southern Literary Messenger*—that magazine which before the war was at once a stimulus and repository for the best literary productions of the South. The best of these stories, which may still be read with interest, are “John Carper, the Hunter of Lost River,” “Two Country Houses,” “The Gregories of Hackwood,” and “The Crime of Andrew Blair.” These stories, each extending through two or three numbers of the magazine, are characterized by graphic description, clear-cut delineation of character, and poetic sympathy with the beauties of nature.

It was during this earlier period that the best known of his lyrics were produced. “Life in the Autumn Woods,” which first appeared in the *Southern Literary Messenger* for December, 1843, is of special interest, not only for its fine poetic quality, but also for the light it throws on the writer’s spirit. He was singing from the heart and voicing a hundred experiences in the following lines:

“What passionate
And wild delight is in the proud swift chase!
Go out what time the lark, at heaven’s red gate,
Soars joyously singing—quite infuriate

With the high pride of his place;
 What time the unrisen sun arrays the morning
 In its first bright adorning.

* * * * *

"Urge your swift horse
 After the crying hounds in this fresh hour—
 Vanquish high hills—stem perilous streams perforce—
 Where the glades ope, give free wings to your course—
 And you will know the power
 Of the brave chase—and how, of griefs the sorest,
 A cure is in the forest."

But it was not merely the excitement of the chase that wooed him, but a deep love of nature—a spirit sensitive to all the mystical charms of wood and field. So he wrote in the same poem:

"I love the woods
 In this best season of the liberal year;
 I love to haunt the whispering solitudes,
 And give myself to melancholy moods,
 With no intruder near;
 And find strange lessons, as I sit and ponder,
 On every natural wonder."

Among his other choicest lyrics are "Rosalie Lee," "The Death of Arnold Winkelried," "To My Daughter Lily," and "Florence Vane." The last is the most widely known of all his songs. Though purely a romance of the writer's imagination, it breathes a sincerity and pathos that have made it one of the favorite lyrical productions of Virginia. The poet himself did not esteem it very highly, and its success came to him as a gratifying surprise. In an unpublished letter, dated at Martinsburg, 1841, he writes to his father: "Tell Mary [his sister] that the little piece of verse, 'Florence Vane,' that I wrote two years ago, is getting me an amusing reputation among the ladies far and near. Hewitt, the Baltimore composer, is about to set it to music, Russell *has* done so in New York; it has been published in a volume of select American poetry, and, last, three persons, male and female, left here two days ago for Ohio and Kentucky, carrying each a copy of it. It was a lucky little bark, and the winds and waters have been favorable to it. I, who built it, however, know that it was no great thing, and that I can build a better any day. I think I will write some more of these little pieces this winter."

In an unpublished letter dated "The Vineyard," 1849, he tells of a little incident connected with this poem. "I received a day or

two ago," he says, "a letter from a stranger, the postmaster of a town in the further edge of Ohio, informing me that his wife had presented him with a daughter—and that he had called the little hussy after the heroine of my 'exquisite and touching' poem, Florence Vane, and requesting that I would send a copy of the poem in my own handwriting, that my autograph might go to her (for the future honor and glory doubtless) with the name. This is something akin to having a county in the backwoods called after one."

In 1847, at the solicitation of his cousin and friend, John P. Kennedy, our author collected his verse in a volume entitled 'Froissart Ballads and Other Poems.' The origin of the ballad portion of the volume, as explained in the preface, is found in the lines of an old Roman poet:

"A certain freak has got into my head,
Which I can't conquer for the life of me,
Of taking up some history little read
Or known, and writing it in poetry."

There are five ballads, two of which, "The Master of Bolton" and "Geoffrey Têtenoire," are original inventions. The remaining three are from old Froissart, "and as faithful to the text," says the author, "as the necessities of the verse permitted me to make them." "The Master of Bolton," the longest of the ballads, is written in easy octo-syllabic verse, after the manner of Scott's "Lady of the Lake." The rest follow old ballad measures, and all glide "onward with the musical flow of the Opequon, on whose banks the poet so frequently paused to gaze on the enchanting landscape." A few lines from "The Master of Bolton" will serve for illustration:

"Attended by her happy hours,
The maiden May walks garlanded;
The earth is beautiful with flowers,
And birds are jocund overhead.
Wide valleys, verdant from the showers,
By fertile cares of April shed,
Give promise to the hungry towers
Of summer fruits and autumn bread."

The "Froissart Ballads" were well received by the critics, but the book did not have a wide circulation. The author's own estimate is an interesting bit of criticism, which is not very far from the truth. "They are not," he says, "in the high key of a man warm with his subject, and doing the thing finely; I wrote them with the reluctance

of a turkey-hunter kept from his sport—only Mr. Kennedy's earnest entreaty and remonstrance whipped me up to the labor." Again he wrote: "I have stuck to the ordinary level, and have endeavored to write interesting stories in verse, with grace and spirit. I repeat my fear that in writing for the cold, I have failed to touch the quick and warm—in writing for a dozen hunting comrades, who have been in the habit of making my verse a *post prandium* entertainment, and never endured an audacity of thought or word, I have tamed myself out of your approbation."

The end of this interesting and gifted life came prematurely and unexpectedly. During a winter day's sport in hunting the poet contracted pneumonia; and after a very brief illness he passed away January 20, 1850, lamented not only by his neighbors and comrades, but also by the much larger circle of friends that his writings had made for him. His death interrupted the serial romance "The Chevalier Merlin," the first chapters of which had appeared in the *Southern Literary Messenger*. It was regarded at the time as a work of rich promise; and Edgar A. Poe declared that "it was less a novel than a poem, and that no one but Mr. Cooke could have written it."

It was a defect or a merit in our author's character that he was unmoved by ambition. Was it a censurable love of ease, or a clear recognition of the vanity of fame? In either case, as a beautiful result, his heart remained untouched by envy. In a letter to his friend John R. Thompson, the editor of the *Messenger*, he says delightfully: "I look upon these matters serenely, and will treat renown as Sir Thomas Moore advises concerning guests—welcome its coming when it cometh, hinder not with oppressive eagerness when it goeth. Furthermore, I am of the temper to look placidly upon the profile of this same renown, if, instead of stopping, it went by to take up with another, therefore, it would not ruffle me to see you win the honors of Southern letters away from me." With this expression of a large generous spirit we leave our author, whose personality was as pleasing as his intellectual gifts were varied and admirable.

F. V. A. Painter.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

International Magazine, IV, 300.

Same article, *Southern Literary Messenger*, XVII, 669;

Florence Vane, " " " XVI, 369;

Poetry, " " " XIII, 437;

Recollections, " " " XXVI, 419.

FLORENCE VANE

All selections are from 'Froissart Ballads and Other Poems.'

I loved thee long and dearly,
 Florence Vane;
 My life's bright dream, and early,
 Hath come again;
 I renew, in my fond vision,
 My heart's dear pain,
 My hope, and thy derision,
 Florence Vane.

The ruin lone and hoary,
 The ruin old,
 Where thou didst hark my story,
 At even told—
 That spot—the hues Elysian
 Of sky and plain—
 I treasure in my vision,
 Florence Vane.

Thou wast lovelier than the roses
 In their prime;
 Thy voice excelled the closes
 Of sweetest rhyme;
 Thy heart was as a river
 Without a main.
 Would I had loved thee never,
 Florence Vane!

But, fairest, coldest wonder!
 Thy glorious clay
 Lieth the green sod under—
 Alas the day!

And it boots not to remember
Thy disdain—
To quicken love's pale ember,
Florence Vane.

The lilies of the valley)
By young graves weep,
The pansies love to dally
Where maidens sleep;
May their bloom, in beauty vying,
Never wane
Where thine earthly part is lying,
Florence Vane!

YOUNG ROSALIE LEE

I love to forget ambition,
And hope, in the mingled thought
Of valley, and wood, and meadow,
Where, whilome, my spirit caught
Affection's holiest breathings—
Where under the skies, with me
Young Rosalie roved, aye drinking
From joy's bright Castaly.

I think of the valley, and river,
Of the old wood bright with blossoms;
Of the pure and chastened gladness
Upspringing in our bosoms.
I think of the lonely turtle
So tongued with melancholy;
Of the hue of the drooping moonlight,
And the starlight pure and holy.

Of the beat of a heart most tender,
The sigh of a shell-tinct lip
As soft as the land-tones wandering
Far leagues over ocean deep;
Of a step as light in its falling
On the breast of the bended lea
As the fall of the faery moonlight
On the leaf of yon tulip tree.

I think of these—and the murmur
 Of birds and katydid,
 Whose home is the graveyard cypress,
 Whose goblet the honey-reed.
 And then I weep! for Rosalie
 Has gone to her early rest;
 And the green-lipped reed and the daisy
 Suck sweets from her maiden breast.

TO MY DAUGHTER LILY

Six changeful years are gone, Lily,
 Since you were born, to be
 A darling to your mother good,
 A happiness to me;
 A little, shivering, feeble thing
 You were to touch and view,
 But we could see a promise in
 Your baby eyes of blue.
 You fastened on our hearts, Lily,
 As day by day wore by,
 And beauty grew upon your cheeks,
 And deepened in your eye;
 A year made dimples in your hands,
 And plumped your little feet,
 And you had learned some merry ways
 Which we thought very sweet.

And when the first sweet word, Lily,
 Your wee mouth learned to say,
 Your mother kissed it fifty times,
 And marked the famous day.
 I know not even now, my dear,
 If it were quite a word,
 But your proud mother surely knew,
 For she the sound had heard.

When you were four years old, Lily—
 You were my little friend,
 And we had walks, and nightly plays,
 And talks without an end.

You little ones are sometimes wise,
For you are undefiled;
A grave, grown man will start to hear
The strange words of a child.

When care pressed on our house, Lily—
Pressed with an iron hand—
I hated mankind for the wrong
Which festered in the land;
But when I read your young frank face—
Its meanings, sweet and good,
My charities grew clear again,
I felt my brotherhood.

And sometimes it would be, Lily,
My faith in God grew cold,
For I saw virtue go in rags,
And vice in cloth of gold;
But in your innocence, my child,
And in your mother's love,
I learned those lessons of the heart
Which fasten it above.

At last our cares are gone, Lily,
And peace is back again,
As you have seen the sun shine out
After the gloomy rain;
In the good land where we were born,
We may be happy still,
A life of love will bless our home—
The house upon the hill.

Thanks to your gentle face, Lily!
Its innocence was strong
To keep me constant to the right,
When tempted by the wrong.
The little ones were dear to Him
Who died upon the Rood—
I ask His gentle care for you,
And for your mother good.

LIFE IN THE AUTUMN WOODS

Summer has gone!

And fruitful autumn has advanced so far,
That there is warmth, not heat, in the broad sun,
And you may look with steadfast gaze upon
 The ardours of his car;
The stealthy frosts, whom his spent looks embolden,
 Are making the green leaves golden.

What a brave splendour
Is in the October air! How rich and clear—
How life-full, and all joyous! We must render
Love to the Spring-time, with its sproutings tender,
 As to a child quite dear—
But autumn is a noon, prolonged, of glory—
 A manhood not yet hoary.

I love the woods
In this best season of the liberal year;
I love to haunt their whispering solitudes,
And give myself to melancholy moods,
 With no intruder near;
And find strange lessons, as I sit and ponder,
 In every natural wonder.

But not alone
As Shakespeare's melancholy courtier loved Ardennes,
Love I the autumn forest; and I own
I would not oft have mused as he, but flown
 To hunt with Amiens—
And little recked, as up the bold deer bounded,
 Of the sad creature wounded.

That gentle knight,
Sir William Wortley, weary of his part,
In painted poms, which he could read aright,
Built Warnccliffe lodge—for that he did delight
 To hear the belling hart.
It was a gentle taste, but its sweet sadness
 Yields to the hunter's madness.

What passionate
And wild delight is in the proud swift chase!
Go out what time the lark, at heaven's red gate,
Soars joyously singing—quite infuriate
 With the high pride of his place;
What time the unrisen sun arrays the morning
 In its first bright adorning.

Hark the shrill horn—
As sweet to hear as any clarion—
Piercing with silver call the ear of morn;
And mark the steeds, stout Curtal, and Topthorn,
 And Greysteil, and the Don—
Each one of them his fiery mood displaying
 With pawing and with neighing.

Urge your swift horse
After the crying hounds in this fresh hour—
Vanquish high hills—stem perilous streams perforce—
Where the glades ope give free wings to your course—
 And you will know the power
Of the brave chase—and how of griefs the sorest,
 A cure is in the forest.

Or stalk the deer:
The same red fires of dawn illumine the hills,
The gladdest sounds are crowding on your ear,
There is a life in all the atmosphere—
 Your very nature fills
With the fresh hour, as up the hills aspiring,
 You climb with limbs untiring.

It is a fair
And pleasant sight, to see the mountain stag,
With the long sweep of his swift walk, repair
To join his brothers; or the plethoric bear
 Lying on some high crag,
With pinky eyes half closed, but broad head shaking,
 As gad-flies keep him waking.

And these you see,
 And, seeing them, you travel to their death,
 With a slow stealthy step from tree to tree—
 Noting the wind, however faint it be;
 The hunter draws a breath
 In times like these, which he will say repays him
 For all the care that waylays him.

A strong joy fills—
 A rapture far beyond the tongue's cold power—
 My heart in golden autumn fills and thrills!
 And I would rather stalk the breezy hills—
 Descending to my bower
 Nightly by the bold spirit of health attended—
 Than pine where life is splendid.

GEOFFREY TÊTENOIRE

The Lady Jane, with urgent train,
 Comes trooping into Paris:
 Her milk-white mule seems very proud
 Beneath the load he carries—
 And, reason good, for fairer dame,
 Than lovely Lady Jane,
 Is not beneath the Norman lands
 And mountain line of Spain.

The Lady Jane of Ventadore
 Is irritant of mood,
 The dame is but a fugitive
 Before a robber rude;
 Têtenoire, the Free Companion,
 Is master of her lands
 And castle strong, by hardy wrong,
 And holds them with his bands.

Thus is it that the Lady Jane
 Comes trooping into Paris—
 Reining the little mule, so proud
 Beneath the load he carries.

Here may she be at liberty,
 And wisely meditate,
 The wrong which she has undergone
 In pride, and in estate.

The countess came at June's sweet end,
 And, on an autumn day,
 The County Gaston sought her side,
 His suit of love to pay :
 "For thy dear love, all price above,
 And for thy hand so fair,
 If win I may, sweet lady, say,
 What service shall I dare?"

The yielding dame made answer then:
 "The whisper of a lute
 Were not so dear a sound to hear
 As this thy gentle suit.
 But, like the dame who bade her lord
 Leap down and win her glove
 From forth a lion's jaws, I bind
 A service to thy love.

"Five years I dwelt, a widow lorn,
 In castle Ventadore;
 Têtenoire the Breton drove me forth,
 And wronged me much and sore;
 If thou wilt slay the robber vile,
 And bring his head to me,
 I freely vow, Sir Count, that thou
 Shalt have my hand for fee."
 * * * * *

It was the County Gaston
 Drew on to Ventadore,
 His men-at-arms behind him,
 His trumpeters before;
 And by his side did proudly ride
 Sir Anthony Bonlance,
 A sweet Parisian gentleman
 Of dainty countenance.

Between St. Flour and Ventadore,
 Fair in a forest glade,
 The county rides, at stately pace,
 Before his cavalcade.
 The autumn leaves, the count perceives,
 Have caught a beauty rare,
 As if the rays of lovely days
 Had been entangled there.

And the near hills are ringing
 With merry songs and sweet—
 The birds are piping merrily
 The early day to greet:
 The early day, for on their way
 As forth the riders pass,
 The sparkling dews, which night renews,
 Are bright on tree and grass.

Some gentle praise of nature
 The gallant count was saying,
 When he was ware of horsemen near—
 He heard their chargers neighing.
 And then he spurred his good steed up
 A near acclivity,
 From whose broad top a loving eye
 A lovely land might see.

But not upon the beauty rare
 Of that most lovely land,
 The county gazed—beyond the hill
 He saw an armèd band:
 A band, I ween, fair to be seen,
 Of mail-clad cavaliers,
 Holding their way, in close array,
 With sunlit helms and spears.

Lord Gaston's hand waved brief command,
 And straight an Auvergne guide
 Obeyed his signal, from the troop,
 And galloped to his side.

"Now who be they on yonder way?
Look freely and declare."
Whereto the guide in haste replied,
"The man you seek is there.

"For mark you not the litter borne
Amidst the armèd band?
They call it Geoffrey's battle-horse
In all this southern land.
The robber bold is waxing old,
And therefore travels so."
Then said the lord, "By my good sword!
I joy so much to know."

And now he wheels his champing steed,
And hurries from the height,
And joins his willing men-at-arms,
And orders them aright.
"The enemy rides here," quoth he,
"Beneath us on the plain,
In bold array, athwart our way,
His castle hold to gain."

Têtenoire was wending on his route,
So in his litter borne,
When, from the wooded heights above,
Rang out a bugle horn.
And with the sound, shaking the ground,
Rushed down the charging horse—
With level spears, the cavaliers
Came thundering on their course.

Grim Geoffrey raised his head and gazed,
Expectant of the shock,
And laughed to see its fury break
Like sea-foam on a rock.
"These lords," quoth he, right scornfully,
"Misjudge me overmuch,
They pounce as if my eagle brood
Were quarries for their clutch."

And then his dark, keen eye did mark
Lord Gaston's haughty crest,
Where, chafed and baffled, to and fro
He rode amongst the rest.
Intent the gallant county seemed
To rally back his host,
Like one whose courage would regain
Some rose of honour lost.

"Give me a cross-bow in my hand,
And place a bolt therein"—
Grim Geoffrey said—"and bend the bow,
And let the bolt be keen."
And then he scanned the county's band,
And bade his own hold place—
A perilous smile was fierce the while
Upon his ancient face.

As leant he on his litter's side,
An old and feeble man,
With raven locks so wonderful
Above his visage wan,
And peered with keen and ferret eyes—
So subtil in their guile—
You would have said a common wrath
Was kinder than his smile.

He raised the cross-bow to his aim,
And then with sudden twang,
The bolt flew forth, and angrily
Upon its journey sang.
The sharp bolt flew so swift, and true,
That, ere a man might speak,
It smote the County Gaston
Betwixt the eye and cheek.

Ah, ill betide the bowyer's craft,
That shaped that bolt so true!
And ill betide the heart of pride,
From whose fierce will it flew!

The county tottered on his horse,
His brain span round and round,
And then he lost his rein, and fell
A dead man to the ground.

Sir Anthony scarce stayed to see
The County Gaston slain,
But turned to face the homeward hill,
And urged his horse amain.
Now, by my troth, Sir Anthony
Will surely win the race!
His knighthood claims, and holds, the van—
Behind him bursts the chase.

Old Geoffrey in his litter lies,
And marks his armed men
Come trooping back, in scattered groups,
To win his side again.
“Now who be these—our enemies—
Who dare abroad to ride,
For foolish enterprise of arms,
In this our country-side?”

In answer to his master's quest,
A griesly wight and strong
Came leading, through the merry crowd,
A captive, by a thong.
Lashed like a hound—his fine arms bound—
Came pale Sir Anthony.
The hapless plight of that fine knight
Was very sad to see.

“This gentleman”—his captor said—
“Was riding with the rest,
And, yea indeed! he led the race—
His charger was the best.
But as he rode so terribly
Upon his dapple gray,
The good beast stumbled at a ditch
And left him by the way.”

Sir Anthony is tremulous,
 For he is troubled sore:
 Right awful are the icy looks,
 Of him of Ventadore.
 Quoth Geoffrey, "Speak the truth, and show
 What errand brought you here."
 And, quaking, Sir Anthony
 Made all the truth appear.

"Who seeks my head had well beware,"
 The Breton sternly said,
 "Lest, groping in the lion's den,
 He lose his own instead."
 Then, lowering darkly on the knight,
 He deigned to say no more.
 But bade his trumpets lead the way
En route for Ventadore.

* * * * *

In a proud hall Parisian,
 With jewels quite a-blaze,
 The Countess Jane was leading down
 The stately Polonaise,
 When, like a discord, in the midst
 Of music proud, and dance,
 In way-worn plight, stalked in the knight
 Sir Anthony Bonlance.

His beard defiled, his locks so wild,
 His garb in disarray—
 Ah! can it be Sir Anthony,
 Who went so proud away?
 A servitor behind him glides,
 And bears, as all may see,
 A little casket, richly wrought
 Of gold and ebony.

"I bought my freedom at a price,"
 So said the haggard knight,
 "Dearer than gold in red marks told—
 And I must pay aright

That ransom now, or break a vow
Wherewith my soul is bound."
His sad, dark mien, and words, I ween,
Have hushed the music's sound.

He came before the Countess Jane—
Forlorn Sir Anthony!
And muttered, "I am sworn to bear
This casket unto thee."
So said the haggard knight, and placed
The casket in her hands;
And she, in marvel at his words,
Unclasped the golden bands.

Ah! God and all good saints support
The stricken Lady Jane!
Within is County Gaston's head—
A bow-bolt in the brain!
She lost the casket from her hands—
Out rolled the gory head—
And Lady Jane, with wandering arms,
Fell down as fall the dead.

* * * * *

A convent crowns a gentle hill
Above the bounding Rhône,
And to its shades, for health of soul,
The Countess Jane is gone:
A sister of that holy house,
Her griefs of earth are dead—
But, in her dreams, the sister sees
A casket and a head.

DAVID CROCKETT

[1786—1836]

JAMES M. GRAINGER

DAVID CROCKETT was born near Limestone, now in Greene County, Tennessee, on August 17, 1786. He was the fifth son of John Crockett, an Irish farmer from Pennsylvania, who had married a country woman of American parentage, from near Baltimore, and moved, about the beginning of the Revolutionary War, into that wild savage-infested section of North Carolina, which is now East Tennessee. When David was about seven his improvident father settled as a poor tavern-keeper on the old stage-road in Jefferson County. David's life here as a boy, doing odd jobs about the place, acquainted him with all sorts of people, and tended to develop his self-reliance. At twelve he ran away from home to escape a whipping from his irate father for fighting and for "playing hookey" from school, after only four days' attendance. He roamed about the country for three years, making his living by helping teamsters and traders. He travelled with them as far north as Baltimore. When he finally found his way back home, he was a wild lad of fifteen, and quite capable of taking care of himself.

The boy's heart was so touched by the feeling welcome with which the family, who had given him up for dead, received him, that he settled down to help his poor father out of debt. He worked a year for neighbors to pay off two debts amounting to seventy-six dollars. Then he set to work to furnish himself with clothes. The handsome, ruddy lad had an engaging dash of manner and a wider knowledge of the world than most of his rustic associates. This, with an amount of irrepressible fun, made him a great favorite at all the country frolics. Naturally he soon found himself in love and desirous of getting married, though only eighteen, and unable to read or write. Though his first love affair ended in his disappointment, it had its effect in awakening him to the real need of an education.

Concerning his schooling Crockett had occasion to speak later in life, when he came in contact with college-bred men on his tour to the East. He told them, "I never had but six months' schooling in all my life," and that "as far as my learnin' went, I would stand over it and spell a strive or two with any of them, from a-b ab

to *crucifix*, which was where I left off at school." He attended school six months, working two days out of each week to pay for board and schooling. "In this time," he says, "I learned to read a little in my primer, to write my own name, and to cipher some in the first three rules in figures, and this was all the schooling I ever had. . . . I should have continued longer if it hadn't been that I concluded I couldn't do any longer without a wife; and so I cut out to hunt me one."

In 1804 he succeeded in getting married, and settled down to farming rented land in the neighborhood of his home. After a few years of this, finding, as he says, "I was better at increasing my family than my fortune," he made his first move westward to set up for himself on the newly established frontier. He moved, with his wife and two children, to Lincoln County, near the Alabama border of middle Tennessee, in which place and the adjoining county of Franklin they lived until the close of the War of 1812. During these years he pieced out the meager livelihood he wrested from Nature as farmer and hunter, by serving under General Jackson as a scout in the Creek War and in the famous Florida Campaign. In 1815 Crockett's wife succumbed to the rigors of frontier life and died. He soon married again, however, and moved again still farther west into Giles County. Love for frontier life was a ruling passion in Crockett's life. It carried him at each change in his life farther and farther west, keeping him always in the advance guard of civilization.

In this new settlement Crockett began the political career which was to lead him into national fame. Being already elected a magistrate in the crude provisional government improvised by the better element of the settlers in this new country, he was soon afterward legally appointed justice of the peace. In order to keep the legal records and draw up the documents connected with the court, he had to learn to write, though now thirty years old. Concerning his conduct of this office he writes: "My judgments were never appealed from, and if they had been, they would have stuck like wax, as I gave my decisions on the principles of common justice and honesty between man and man, and relied not on law learning; for I had never read a page in a law-book in my life."

Crockett soon afterward became a candidate for the State Legislature. He won the election over his more learned opponent largely through the popularity which he gained by telling amusing anecdotes on the stump. While he was at Nashville, serving his first term in the Legislature, a freshet at home destroyed a combination grist mill, powder mill, and distillery, which he had gone deeply in debt to build. Crockett was financially ruined. Once more, with inspiring fortitude, he set out, after the Legislature adjourned, to move still

farther west and start anew in a new country. He settled with his family in what is now Crockett County, but was then a wilderness section of West Tennessee. Game being plentiful here, he won the necessities of life by his skill as a hunter, and had a great many thrilling experiences, some of which he afterward related in his famous bear tales. He also engaged in farming and in some lumbering enterprises on the Mississippi River, which, like practically all of his business ventures, proved absolute failures. Such failures throughout his life, together with his free, generous and almost prodigal nature, kept him always poor.

Crockett was sent back to the State Legislature from this new section. In 1827, having attracted some notice, he was elected to the United States Congress through the influence of Andrew Jackson, under whom he had seen military service. At Washington he became notorious for his eccentricities of dress and manner; but his gift of telling humorous anecdotes, his readiness at retort in debate, his hard common sense, and his consistent independence, gained him the attention and respect of the entire country. "I would sooner be honestly and politically damned," he said, "than hypocritically immortalized"; and finding it against his principles longer to support the man who brought about his election, in time he turned Jackson's most outspoken enemy. Consequently, when election day came around again in 1829, the Jackson machine defeated him. Two years later, however, he was reelected in spite of Jackson.

Soon after his return to Washington, his interesting personality made him the victim of a literary enterprise. An anonymous book entitled 'Sketches and Eccentricities of Colonel David Crockett' appeared in 1834, without Crockett's approval. Finding himself thus exploited in literature, with many false statements not greatly to his credit and without financial benefit to himself, Crockett, who was now nearly fifty years old, entered an entirely new field of activity: he set to work to write the story of his own life. "It is to correct all these false notions," he says in his preface, "and to do justice to myself that I have written." 'The Life of David Crockett,' by himself, was published in 1834, and immediately won immense popularity. In 1835 this book was followed by 'An Account of Colonel Crockett's Tour to the North and Down East.' His 'Life of Martin Van Buren, Heir Apparent to the Government,' followed the same year; and the 'Exploits in Texas' soon afterward. Within two years Crockett had written and published, in the intervals of a life busied with other affairs, four books on widely different topics, which, though confessedly deficient in literary qualities, make a considerable contribution to our understanding of the times. Using the vernacular as he did, perforce, he blazed the way, here in literature as in the

wilderness, for a whole school of American humorists who have since followed that way. Such was the surprising feat of a man who at thirty-five had barely been able to write enough English to draw up the simple documents of a justice's court. At forty-eight he produced books which gained him the ear of an enlightened nation.

Crockett's literary achievement furnishes a telling comment on two great facts in American life: the wonderful adaptability of the typical backwoods pioneer, and the immense educative value of a political career in our State and National capitals. It must be remembered that the period during which Crockett served as a legislator was one of profound national unrest, in which most of the great movements that have since occupied the minds of the American people had their origin. In all these matters David Crockett evinced deep interest; and though fresh from the backwoods and practically without formal education, he showed a remarkable grasp of the fundamental principles underlying them all. Receptive and eager to learn, he came daily into association with such men as Daniel Webster, Henry Clay, John C. Calhoun, his particular hero, and James K. Polk. In accordance with his famous maxim, "Be sure you're right and then go ahead," he conscientiously refused to vote on any question before the House until he understood it thoroughly. For a pupil with Crockett's nature, what better school could one ask? Little wonder that, with a flood of important questions before him daily, this ignorant but shrewd and adaptable backwoodsman should suddenly have grown into a great man.

The importance to which Crockett had now grown as a national figure in politics and as a menace to the party in power is evidenced by the determined concentration of the Jackson influence to secure Crockett's defeat at the next election in 1835. Particularly his 'Life of Van Buren,' by its abuse of Jackson's chosen successor, roused Crockett's enemies to a determination to be rid of him. Accordingly, in spite of immense popularity at home, he failed of reëlection. He became so disheartened in regard to the condition of national politics that he concluded to withdraw. He would make one more move westward, and go to fight for the cause of freedom in behalf of the struggling Texans. He bade farewell to his home and country in an artless but feeling attempt at poetry, of which the last stanza is as follows:

"Farewell to my country! I fought for thee well,
When the savage rushed forth like the demons from hell.
In peace or in war I have stood by thy side—
My country, for thee I have lived—would have died!

But I am cast off, my career now is run,
And I wander abroad like the prodigal son
Where the wild savage roves, and the broad prairies spread,
The fallen, despised—will again go ahead."

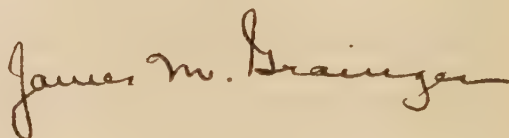
Leaving his wife and family at home in West Tennessee, he travelled leisurely down the Mississippi by boat, and across country on horseback, gathering as he went a small band of followers around him, and writing a diary of his journey. This diary constituted the basis of his 'Exploits in Texas.' After arriving at San Antonio de Bexar and allying himself and his little band with the struggling Texans, he perished, as is well known, in the famous defence of "The Alamo," on March 6, 1836, a martyr to the cause of freedom.

Crockett wrote his 'Life' while at the height of his political career, with no other purpose than to tell the plain truth about himself. While the grammar of the book is naturally that of the Tennessee backwoodsman, its language strikes straight for the mark, is alive with figures of speech drawn from frontier life, and is free from effort or affectation. The freshness and naturalness of the book, both in style and subject, accord perfectly with the frank, open nature of the writer. The humor springs spontaneously from the man's keen sense of fun and love for a laugh. Indeed, the air of perfect simplicity with which he relates some of his most amusing incidents often raises a question in one's mind whether much of the humor is not at least half-unconscious. "Go ahead," Crockett's famous motto, occurs at every turn in the narrative, and expresses admirably, as nothing else could, the spirit of this book describing his life. This is the most interesting of Crockett's books, and in many ways the best he wrote.

In his second book Crockett recounts the incidents of a tour through the Northern States, which he took during his last term as a Member of Congress. He describes the enthusiastic receptions tendered him in all the large cities by the Whig clubs, which admired him for his outspoken opposition to Jackson's policy. He quotes in full his speeches on these occasions, mostly fierce impromptu philippics against the President. He also describes, with open-eyed wonder at the industry and ingenuity of the "Yankees," those features of this part of the country which struck him most forcibly. He acknowledges good-naturedly the admiration of the people for himself, and makes keen, humorous comments on everything that happens in his way. On the whole, the 'Tour' shows improvement in Crockett's style. Fewer abuses of grammar and language indicate study on his part to master these subjects. In this book he became conscious of authorship, and acknowledged the critical keenness of

the Nation which had received his first production so enthusiastically as follows: "The people of the United States ain't no slouches neither about books. They're as keen in afindin' out merit as my pups are on a bear track."

The 'Life of Van Buren' and 'Exploits in Texas,' together with some crude efforts at versification made about the same time, entitled 'Leisure Hour Musings in Rhyme,' reveal increasing consciousness of a calling to write and efforts to train himself for it. The first, being merely a political diatribe, lacks the genial, good-humored spirit of Crockett's other books, though every page shows the keenness of his intellect and his power in direct, forceful expression. In the 'Exploits in Texas' Crockett gets back again into the wilderness, hunting and fighting once more, free and wondering at God's great outdoor world, which was his natural home. Here he regains his native freshness and naturalness of style, to which by practice in writing he has now added no small appreciation of the finer literary qualities. Had he survived "The Alamo" and continued to improve his gift for writing, David Crockett might have stood high among American writers.

A handwritten signature in dark ink, reading "James M. Brainerd". The script is cursive and fluid, with a large, prominent 'J' at the beginning and a long, sweeping underline that extends across the signature.

COURTSHIP AND MARRIAGE

From 'The Life of David Crockett, by Himself.'

I CONTINUED in this down-spirited situation for a good long time, until one day I took my rifle and started a hunting. While out, I made a call at the house of a Dutch widow, who had a daughter that was well enough as to smartness, but she was as ugly as a stone fence. She was, however, quite talkative, and soon began to laugh at me about my disappointment.

She seemed disposed, though, to comfort me as much as she could; and, for that purpose, told me to keep in good heart, that "there was as good fish in the sea as had ever been caught out of it." I doubted this very much; but whether or not, I was certain that she was not one of them,

for she was so homely that it almost gave me a pain in the eyes to look at her.

But I couldn't help thinking that she had intended what she had said as a banter for me to court her!!!—the last thing in creation I could have thought of doing. I felt little inclined to talk on the subject, it is true; but, to pass off the time, I told her I thought I was born odd, and that no fellow to me could be found. She protested against this, and said if I would come to their reaping, which was not far off, she would show me one of the prettiest little girls there I had ever seen. She added that the one who had deceived me was nothing to be compared with her. I didn't believe a word of all this, for I had thought that such a piece of flesh and blood as she was had never been manufactured, and never would again. I agreed with her, though, that the little varment had treated me so bad, that I ought to forget her, and yet I couldn't do it. I concluded the best way to accomplish it was to cut out again, and see if I could find any other that would answer me; and so I told the Dutch girl that I would be at the reaping, and would bring as many as I could with me.

I employed my time pretty generally in giving information of it, as far as I could, until the day came; and I then offered to work for my old friend, the Quaker, two days, if he would let his bound boy go with me one to the reaping. He refused, and reproved me pretty considerable roughly for my proposition; and said, if he was in my place he wouldn't go; that there would be a great deal of bad company there; and that I had been so good a boy, he would be sorry for me to get a bad name. But I knowed my promise to the Dutch girl, and I was resolved to fulfil it; so I shouldered my rifle, and started by myself. When I got to the place, I found a large company of men and women, and among them an old Irish woman, who had a great deal to say. I soon found out from my Dutch girl, that this old lady was the mother of the little girl she had promised me, though I had not yet seen her. She was in an out-house with some other youngsters, and had not yet made her appearance. Her mama, however, was no way bashful. She came up to me, and began to praise my red cheeks, and said she had a sweet-

heart for me. I had no doubt she had been told what I come for, and all about it. In the evening I was introduced to her daughter, and I must confess I was plaguy well pleased with her from the word go. She had a good countenance, and was very pretty, and I was full bent on making up an acquaintance with her.

It was not long before the dancing commenced, and I asked her to join me in a reel. She very readily consented to do so; and after we had finished our dance, I took a seat alongside of her, and entered into a talk. I found her very interesting; while I was sitting by her, making as good use of my time as I could, her mother came to us, and very jocularly called me her son-in-law. This rather confused me, but I looked on it as a joke of the old lady, and tried to turn it off as well as I could; but I took care to pay as much attention to her through the evening as I could. I went on the old saying, of salting the cow to catch the calf. I soon become so much pleased with this little girl, that I began to think the Dutch girl had told me the truth, when she said there was still good fish in the sea.

We continued our frolic till near day, when we joined in some plays, calculated to amuse youngsters. I had not often spent a more agreeable night. In the morning, however, we all had to part; and I found my mind had become much better reconciled than it had been for a long time. I went home to the Quaker's, and made a bargain to work with his son for a low-priced horse. He was the first one I had ever owned, and I was to work six months for him. I had been engaged very closely five or six weeks, when this little girl run in my mind so, that I concluded I must go and see her, and find out what sort of people they were at home. I mounted my horse and away I went to where she lived, and when I got there I found her father a very clever old man, and the old woman as talkative as ever. She wanted badly to find out all about me, to see how I would do for her girl. I had not yet seen her about, and I began to feel some anxiety to know where she was.

In a short time, however, my impatience was relieved, as she arrived at home from a meeting to which she had been. There was a young man with her, who I soon found was dis-

posed to set claim to her, as he was so attentive to her that I could hardly get to slip in a word edgeways. I began to think I was barking up the wrong tree again; but I was determined to stand up to my rack, fodder or no fodder. And so, to know her mind a little on the subject, I began to talk about starting, as I knowed she would then show some sign, from which I could understand which way the wind blowed. It was then near night, and my distance was fifteen miles home. At this my little girl soon began to indicate to the other gentleman that his room would be the better part of his company. At length she left him, and came to me, and insisted mighty hard that I should not go that evening; and, indeed, from all her actions and the attempts she made to get rid of him, I saw that she preferred me all holler. But it wasn't long before I had trouble enough in another quarter. Her mother was deeply enlisted for my rival, and I had to fight against her influence as well as his. But the girl herself was the prize I was fighting for; and as she welcomed me, I was determined to lay siege to her, let what would happen. I commenced a close courtship, having cornered her from her old beau; while he set off, looking on, like a poor man at a country frolic, and all the time almost gritting his teeth with pure disappointment. But he didn't dare to attempt anything more, for now I had gotten a start, and I looked at him every once in a while as fierce as a wild-cat. I stayed with her until Monday morning, and then I put out for home.

It was about two weeks after this that I was sent for to engage in a wolf hunt, where a great number of men were to meet, with their dogs and guns, and where the best sort of sport was expected. I went as large as life, but I had to hunt in strange woods, and in a part of the country which was very thinly inhabited. While I was out it clouded up, and I began to get scared; and in a little while I was so much so, that I didn't know which way home was, nor anything about it. I set out the way I thought it was, but it turned out with me, as it always does with a lost man, I was wrong and took exactly the contrary direction from the right one. And for the information of young hunters, I will just say, in this place, that whenever a fellow gets bad lost, the way home

is just the way he don't think it is. This rule will hit nine times out of ten. I went ahead, though, about six or seven miles, when I found night-was coming on fast; but at this distressing time I saw a little woman streaking it along through the woods like all wrath, and so I cut on too, for I was determined I wouldn't lose sight of her that night any more. I run on till she saw me, and she stopped; for she was as glad to see me as I was to see her, as she was lost as well as me. When I came up to her who should she be but my little girl, that I had been paying my respects to? She had been out hunting her father's horses, and had missed her way, and had no knowledge where she was, or how far it was to any house, or what way would take us there. She had been traveling all day, and was mighty tired; and I would have taken her up, and toted her, if it hadn't been that I wanted her just where I could see her all the time, for I thought she looked sweeter than sugar; and by this time I loved her almost well enough to eat her.

At last I came to a path, that I know'd must go somewhere, and so we followed it, till we came to a house, at about dark. Here we stayed all night. I sat up all night courting, and in the morning we parted. She went to her home, from which we were distant about seven miles, and I to mine, which was ten miles off.

I now turned in to work again; and it was about four weeks before I went back to see her. I continued to go occasionally, until I had worked long enough to pay for my horse, by putting in my gun with my work, to the man I had purchased from; and then I began to count whether I was to be deceived again or not. At our next meeting, we set the day for our wedding; and I went to my father's to make arrangements for an infair, and returned to ask her parents for her. When I got there the old lady appeared to be mighty wrath; and when I broached the subject, she looked at me as savage as a meat ax. The old man appeared quite willing, and treated me very clever. But I hadn't been there long, before the old woman as good as ordered me out of her house. I thought I would put her in mind of old times, and see how that would go with her. I told her she had called me her son-in-law before I had attempted to call her my

mother-in-law, and I thought she ought to cool off. But her Irish was up too high to do anything with her, and so I quit trying. All I cared for, was to have her daughter on my side, which I knowed was the case then; but how soon some other fellow might knock my nose out of joint again, I couldn't tell. I, however, felt rather insulted at the old lady, and I thought I wouldn't get married in her house. And so I told her girl that I would come the next Thursday, and bring a horse, bridle, and saddle for her, and she must be ready to go. Her mother declared I shouldn't have her; but I know'd I should, if somebody else didn't get her before Thursday. I then started, bidding them good day, and went by the house of a justice of the peace, who lived on the way to my father's, and made a bargain with him to marry me.

When Thursday came, all necessary arrangements were made at my father's to receive my wife; and so I took my eldest brother and his wife, and another brother, and a single sister that I had, and two other young men with me, and cut out to her father's house to get her. We went on, until we got within two miles of the place, where we met a large company that had heard of the wedding, and were waiting. Some of that company went on with my brother and sister, and the young man I had picked out to wait on me. When they got there, they found the old lady as wrathful as ever. However, the old man filled their bottle, and the young men returned in a hurry. I then went on with my company, and when I arrived I never pretended to dismount from my horse, but rode up to the door and asked the girl if she was ready; and she said she was. I then told her to light on the horse I was leading; and she did so. Her father, though, had gone out of the gate, and when I started, he commenced persuading me to stay and marry there; and that he was entirely willing to the match, and that his wife, like most women, had entirely too much tongue; but that I oughtn't to mind her. I told him if she would ask me to stay and marry at her house, I would do so. With that he sent for her and after they had talked for some time out by themselves, she came to me and looked at me mighty good, and asked my pardon for what she had said, and invited me to stay. She said it was the first child she ever had to marry; and she couldn't

bear to see her go off in that way; that if I would light, she would do the best she could for us. I couldn't stand everything, and so I agreed, and we got down and went in. I sent off then for my parson, and got married in a short time; for I was afraid to wait long, for fear of another defeat. We had as good treatment as could be expected; and that night all went on well. The next day we cut out for my father's, where we met a large company of people, that had been waiting a day and a night for our arrival. We passed the time quite merrily, until the company broke up; and having gotten my wife, I thought I was completely made up, and needed nothing more in the whole world. But I soon found that this was a mistake—for now having a wife, I wanted everything else; and, worse than all, I had nothing to give for it.

I remained a few days at my father's and then went back to my father-in-law's, where, to my surprise, I found my old Irish mother in the finest humor in the world.

She gave us two likely cows and calves, which, though it was a small marriage portion, was still better than I had expected, and, indeed, it was about all I ever got. I rented a small farm and cabin, and went to work; but I had much trouble to find out a plan to get anything to put in my house. At this time my good old friend the Quaker came forward to my assistance, and gave me an order to a store for fifteen dollars' worth of such things as my little wife might choose. With this we fixed up pretty grand, as we thought, and allowed to get on very well. My wife had a good wheel, and know'd exactly how to use it. She was also a good weaver, as most of the Irish are, whether men or women; and being very industrious with her wheel, she had, in a little or no time, a fine web of cloth, ready to make up; and she was good at that, too, and at almost anything else that a woman could do.

We worked on for some years, renting ground and paying high rent, until I found it wasn't the thing it was cracked up to be, and that I couldn't make a fortune at it just at all. So I concluded to quit it, and cut out for some new country. In this time we had two sons, and I found I was better at increasing my family than my fortune. It was, therefore,

the more necessary that I should hunt some better place to get along; and as I knowed I would have to move at some time, I thought it was better to do it before my family got too large, that I might have less to carry.

The Duck and Elk River country was just beginning to settle, and I determined to try that. I had now one old horse, and a couple of two-year-old colts. They were both broke to the halter, and my father-in-law proposed, that if I went, he would go with me, and take one horse to help me move. So we all fixed up, and I packed my two colts with as many of my things as they could bear; and away we went across the mountains. We got on well enough, and arrived safely in Lincoln County, on the head of the Mulberry fork of Elk River. I found this a very rich country, and so new that game of different sorts was very plenty. It was here that I began to distinguish myself as a hunter, and to lay the foundation for all my future greatness; but mighty little did I know of what sort it was going to be. Of deer and smaller game I killed abundance; but the deer had been much hunted in those parts before, and were not so plenty as I could have wished. I lived here in the years 1809 and '10, to the best of my recollection, and then I moved to Franklin County, and settled on Beans Creek, where I remained till after the close of the last war.

A KEG OF POWDER

From 'The Life of David Crockett, by Himself.'

I GATHERED my corn, and then set out for my fall's hunt. This was in the last of October, 1822. I found bear very plenty, and, indeed, all sorts of game and wild varments, except buffalo. There was none of them. I hunted on till Christmas, having supplied my family very well all along with wild meat, at which time my powder gave out; and I had none either to fire Christmas guns, which is very common in that country, or to hunt with. I had a brother-in-law who had now moved out and settled about six miles west of me, on the opposite side of Rutherford's fork of the Obion River, and he had brought me a keg of powder, but I had never got-

ten it home. There had just been another of Noah's freshets, and the low grounds were flooded all over with water. I know'd the stream was at least a mile wide which I would have to cross, as the water was from hill to hill, and yet I determined to go on over in some way or other, so as to get my powder. I told this to my wife, and she immediately opposed it with all her might. I still insisted, telling her we had no powder for Christmas, and, worse than all, we were out of meat. She said we had as well starve as for me to freeze to death or to get drowned, and one or the other was certain if I attempted to go.

But I didn't believe the half of this; and so I took my woollen wrappers, and a pair of moccasins, and put them on and tied up some dry clothes, and a pair of shoes and stockings, and started. But I didn't before know how much anybody could suffer and not die. This, and some of my other experiments in water, learned me something about it, and I therefore relate them.

The snow was about four inches deep when I started, and when I got to the water, which was only about a quarter of a mile off, it looked like an ocean. I put in, and waded on till I come to the channel, where I crossed that on a high log. I then took water again, having my gun and all my hunting tools along, and waded till I came to a deep slough, that was wider than the river itself. I had crossed it often on a log; but behold, when I got there, no log was to be seen. I know'd of an island in the slough, and a sapling stood on it close to the side of that log, which was now entirely under water. I knowed further, that the water was about eight or ten feet deep under the log, and I judged it to be about three feet deep over it. After studying a little what I should do, I determined to cut a forked sapling, which stood near me, so as to lodge it against the one that stood on the island, in which I succeeded very well. I then cut me a pole, and then crawled along on my sapling till I got to the one it was lodged against, which was about six feet above the water. I then felt about with my pole till I found the log, which was just about as deep under the water as I had judged. I then crawled back and got my gun, which I had left at the stump of the sapling I had cut, and again made my way to the place of lodgment,

and then climbed down the other sapling so as to get on the log. I then felt my way along with my feet, in the water, about waist deep, but it was a mighty ticklish business. However, I got over, and by this time I had very little feeling in my feet and legs, as I had been all the time in the water, except what time I was crossing the high log over the river, and climbing my lodged sapling.

I went but a short distance before I came to another slough, over which there was a log, but it was floating on the water. I thought I could walk it, and so I mounted on it; but when I had got about the middle of the deep water, somehow or somehow else, it turned over, and in I went up to my head. I waded out of this deep water, and went ahead till I came to the highland, where I stopp'd to pull off my wet clothes, and put on the others, which I had held up with my gun, above the water, when I fell in. I got them on, but my flesh had no feeling in it, I was so cold. I tied up the wet ones, and hung them up in a bush. I now thought I would run, so as to warm myself a little, but I couldn't raise a trot for some time; indeed, I couldn't step more than half the length of my foot. After a while I got better, and went on five miles to the house of my brother-in-law, having not even smelt fire from the time I started. I got there late in the evening, and he was much astonished at seeing me at such a time. I stayed all night, and the next morning was most piercing cold, and so they persuaded me not to go home that day. I agreed, and turned out and killed him two deer; but the weather still got worse and colder, instead of better. I staid that night, and in the morning they still insisted I couldn't get home. I knowed the water would be frozen over, but not hard enough to bear me, and so I agreed to stay that day. I went out hunting again, and pursued a big *he-bear* all day, but didn't kill him. The next morning was bitter cold, but I knowed my family was without meat, and I determined to get home to them, or die a-trying.

I took my keg of powder, and all my hunting tools, and cut out. When I got to the water, it was a sheet of ice as far as I could see. I put on to it but hadn't got far before it broke through with me; and so I took out my tomahawk, and broke my way along before me for a considerable distance.

At last I got to where the ice would bear me for a short distance, and I mounted on it, and went ahead; but it soon broke in again, and I had to wade on till I came to my floating log. I found it so tight this time, that I know'd it couldn't give me another fall, as it was frozen in with the ice. I crossed over it without much difficulty, and worked along till I got to my lodged sapling and my log under the water. The swiftness of the current prevented the water from freezing over it, and so I had to wade, just as I did when I crossed it before. When I got to my sapling, I left my gun, and climbed out with my powder keg first, and then went back and got my gun. By this time I was nearly frozen to death, but I saw all along before me where the ice had been fresh broke, and I thought it must be a bear straggling about in the water. I, therefore, fresh primed my gun, and, cold as I was, I was determined to make war on him, if we met. But I followed the trail till it led me home, and then I found it had been made by my young man that lived with me, who had been sent by my distressed wife to see, if he could, what had become of me, for they all believed I was dead. When I got home, I wasn't quite dead, but mighty nigh it; but had my powder, and that was what I went for.

A BEAR HUNT

From 'The Life of David Crockett, by Himself.'

IN the morning I left my son at the camp, and we started on towards the harricane, and when we had went about a mile, we started a very large bear, but we got along mighty slow on account of the cracks in the earth occasioned by the earthquakes. We, however, made out to keep in hearing of the dogs for about three miles, and then we come to the harricane. Here we had to quit our horses, as old Nick himself couldn't have got through it without sneaking it along in the form that he put on to make a fool of our old grandmother Eve. By this time several of my dogs had got tired and come back; but we went ahead on foot for some little time in the harricane, when we met a bear coming straight to us, and not more than twenty or thirty yards off. I started my

tired dogs after him, and McDaniel pursued them, and I went on to where my other dogs were. I had seen the track of the bear they were after, and I knowed he was a screamer. I followed on to about the middle of the harricane, but my dogs pursued him so close, that they made him climb an old stump about twenty feet high. I got in shooting distance of him and fired, but I was all over in such a flutter from fatigue and running, that I couldn't hold steady; but, however, I broke his shoulder, and he fell. I run up and loaded my gun as quick as possible, and shot him again and killed him. When I went to take out my knife to butcher him, I found that I had lost it in coming through the harricane. The vines and briars was so thick that I would sometimes have to get down and crawl like a varment to get through it all; and a vine had, as I supposed, caught in the handle and pulled it out. While I was standing and studying what to do, my friend came to me. He had followed my trail through the harricane, and had found my knife, which was mighty good news to me; as a hunter hates the worst in the world to lose a good dog, or any part of his hunting tools. I now left McDaniel to butcher the bear, and I went after our horses, and brought them as near as the nature of the case would allow. I then took our bags, and went back to where he was; and when we had skinned the bear, we fleeced off the fat and carried it to our horses at several loads. We then packed it up on our horses, and had a heavy pack of it on each one. We now started and went on till about sunset, when I concluded we must be near our camp; so I hollered and my son answered me, and we moved on in the direction to the camp. We had gone but a little way when I heard my dogs make a warm start again; and I jumped down from my horse and gave him up to my friend, and told him I would follow them. He went on to the camp, and I went ahead after my dogs with all my might for a considerable distance, till at last night came on. The woods were very rough and hilly, and all covered over with cane.

I now was compelled to move more slowly; and was frequently falling over logs, and into the cracks made by the earthquakes, so that I was very much afraid I would break my gun. However, I went on about three miles, when I came

to a good big creek, which I waded. It was very cold, and the creek was about knee-deep; but I felt no great inconvenience from it just then, as I was all over wet with sweat from running, and I felt hot enough. After I got over this creek and out of the cane, which was very thick on all our creeks, I listened for my dogs. I found they had either treed or brought the bear to a stop, as they continued barking in the same place. I pushed on as near in the direction of the noise as I could, till I found the hill was too steep for me to climb, and so I backed and went down the creek some distance, till I came to a hollow, and then took up that, till I came to a place where I could climb up the hill. It was mighty dark, and was difficult to see my way, or anything else. When I got up the hill, I found I had passed the dogs; and so I turned and went to them. I found, when I got there, they had treed the bear in a large forked poplar, and it was setting in the fork.

I could see the lump, but not plain enough to shoot with any certainty, as there was no moonlight; and so set in to hunting for some dry brush to make me a light; but I could find none, though I could find that the ground was torn mightily to pieces by the cracks.

At last I thought I could shoot by guess, and kill him; so I pointed as near the lump as I could, and fired away. But the bear didn't come, he only clumb up higher, and got out on a limb, which helped me to see him better. I now loaded up again and fired, but this time he didn't move at all. I commenced loading for a third fire, but the first thing I knowed, the bear was down among my dogs, and they were fighting all around me. I had my big butcher in my belt, and I had a pair of dressed buckskin breeches on. So I took out my knife, and stood, determined, if he should get hold of me, to defend myself in the best way I could. I stood there for some time, and could now and then see a white dog I had, but the rest of them, and the bear, which were dark colored, I couldn't see at all, it was so miserable dark. They still fought around me, and sometimes within three feet of me; but, at last, the bear got down into one of the cracks that the earthquakes had made in the ground, about four feet deep, and I could tell the biting end of him by the hollering

of my dogs. So I took my gun and pushed the muzzle of it about, till I thought I had it against the main part of his body, and fired; but it happened to be only the fleshy part of his foreleg. With this he jumped out of the crack, and he and the dogs had another hard fight around me, as before. At last, however, they forced him back into the crack again, as he was when I had shot.

I had laid down my gun in the dark, and I now began to hunt for it; and, while hunting, I got hold of a pole, and I concluded I would punch him awhile with that. I did so, and when I would punch him the dogs would jump in on him, when he would bite them badly, and they would jump out again. I concluded, as he would take punching so patiently, it might be that he would lie still enough for me to get down in the crack, and feel slowly along till I could find the right place to give him a dig with my butcher. So I got down, and my dogs got in before him and kept his head towards them, till I got along easily up to him; and placing my hand on his rump, felt for his shoulder, just behind where I intended to stick him. I made a lunge with my long knife, and fortunately struck him right through the heart, at which he just sank down, and I crawled out in a hurry. In a little time my dogs all come out too, and seemed satisfied; which was the way they always had of telling me that they had finished him.

I suffered very much that night with cold, as my leather breeches and everything else I had on was wet and frozen. But I managed to get my bear out of this crack after several hard trials, and so I butchered him and laid down to try to sleep. But my fire was very bad, and I couldn't find anything that would burn well to make it any better; and so I concluded I should freeze, if I didn't warm myself in some way by exercise. So I got up and hollered awhile, and then I would just jump up and down with all my might, and throw myself into all sorts of motions. But all this wouldn't do; for my blood was now getting cold, and the chills coming all over me. I was so tired, too, that I could hardly walk; but I thought I would do the best I could to save my life, and then, if I died, nobody would be to blame. So I went up to a tree about two feet through, and not a limb on it for thirty feet, and I would climb up to the limbs, and then lock my arms together

around it, and slide down to the bottom again. This would make the insides of my legs and arms feel mighty warm and good. I continued this till daylight in the morning, and how often I clumb up my tree and slid down I don't know, but I reckon at least a hundred times.

In the morning I got my bear hung up so as to be safe, and then set out to hunt for my camp. I found it after awhile, and McDaniel and my son were very much rejoiced to see me get back, for they were about to give me up for lost. We got our breakfasts, and then secured our meat by building a high scaffold, and covering it over. We had no fear of its spoiling, for the weather was so cold that it couldn't.

We now started after my other bear, which had caused me so much trouble and suffering; and before we got him, we got a start after another, and took him also. We went on to the creek I had crossed the night before, and camped, and then went to where my bear was that I had killed in the crack. When we examined the place, McDaniel said he wouldn't have gone into it, as I did, for all the bears in the woods.

We then took the meat down to our camp and salted it, and also the last one we had killed; intending in the morning, to make a hunt in the harricane again.

We prepared for resting that night, and I can assure the reader I was in need of it. We had laid down by our fire, and about ten o'clock there came a most terrible earthquake, which shook the earth so, that we were rocked about like we had been in a cradle. We were very much alarmed; for though we were accustomed to feel earthquakes, we were now right in the region which had been torn to pieces by them in 1812, and we thought it might take a notion and swallow us up, like the big fish did Jonah.

In the morning, we packed up and moved to the harricane, where we made another camp, and turned out that evening and killed a very large bear, which made eight we had now killed in this hunt.

The next morning we entered the harricane again, and in a little or no time my dogs were in full cry. We pursued them, and soon came to a thick canebrake, in which they had stopped their bear. We got up close to him, as the cane was so thick that we couldn't see more than a few feet. Here

I made my friend hold the cane a little open with his gun till I shot the bear, which was a mighty large one. I killed him dead in his tracks. We got him out and butchered him, and in a little time started another and killed him, which now made ten we had killed; and we know'd we couldn't pack any more home, as we had only five horses along; therefore we returned to the camp and salted up all our meat, to be ready for a start homeward next morning.

The morning came, and we packed our horses with the meat, and had as much as they could possibly carry, and sure enough cut out for home. It was about thirty miles, and we reached home the second day. I had now accommodated my neighbor with meat enough to do him, and had killed in all, up to that time, fifty-eight bears, during the fall and winter.

As soon as the time come for them to quit their houses and come out again in the spring, I took a notion to hunt a little more, and in about one month I killed forty-seven more, which made one hundred and five bears which I had killed in less than one year from that time.

TRAVELING IN ARKANSAS

From 'Exploits in Texas.'

I TRIED to raise some recruits for Texas among my companions, but they said they had their own affairs to attend to, which would keep them at home for the present, but no doubt they would come over and see us as soon as the disturbances should be settled. They looked upon Texas as being a part of the United States, though the Mexicans did claim it; and they had no doubt the time was not very distant when it would be received into the glorious Union.

My companions did not intend seeing me farther on my way than the Washita River, near fifty miles. Conversation was pretty brisk, for we talked about the affairs of the Nation and Texas; subjects that are by no means to be exhausted, if one may judge by the long speeches made in Congress, where they talk year in and year out, and it would seem that as much still remains to be said as ever. As we drew nigh

to the Washita, the silence was broken alone by our own talk and the clattering of our horses' hoofs, and we imagined ourselves pretty much the only travelers, when we were suddenly somewhat startled by the sound of music. We checked our horses, and listened, and the music continued. "What can all that mean?" says I. "Blast my old shoes if I know, Colonel," says one of the party. We listened again, and we now heard, "Hail Columbia, Happy Land!" played in first rate style. "That's fine," says I. "Fine as silk, Colonel, and a leetle finer," says the other; "but hark, the tune's changed." We took another spell of listening, and now the musician struck up in a brisk and lively manner, "Over the Water to Charley." "That's mighty mysterious," says one: "Can't cipher it out, nohow," says another; "A notch beyant my measure," says a third. "Then let us go ahead," says I, and off we dashed at a pretty rapid gait, I tell you—by no means slow.

As we approached the river, we saw to the right of the road a new clearing on a hill, where several men were at work, and they were running down the hill like wild Indians, or rather, like the office-holders in pursuit of the deposits. There appeared to be no time to be lost, so they ran, and we cut ahead for the crossing. The music continued in all this time stronger and stronger, and the very notes appeared to speak distinctly, "Over the Water to Charley."

When we reached the crossing, we were struck all of a heap, at beholding a man seated in a sulky in the middle of the river, and playing for life on a fiddle. The horse was up to his middle in the water, and it seemed as if the flimsy vehicle was ready to be swept away by the current. Still the fiddler fiddled on composedly as if his life had been insured and he was nothing more than a passenger. We thought he was mad and shouted to him. He heard us and stopped his music. "You have missed the crossing," shouted one of the men from the clearing. "I know I have," returned the fiddler. "If you go ten feet farther you will be drowned." "I know I shall," returned the fiddler. "Turn back," said the man. "I can't," said the other. "Then how the devil will you get out?" "I'm sure I don't know: come you and help me."

The men from the clearing, who understood the river,

took our horses and rode up to the sulky, and after some difficulty succeeded in bringing the traveler safe to shore, when we recognized the worthy parson who had fiddled for us at the puppet show at Little Rock. They told him that he had had a narrow escape, and he replied that he had found that out an hour ago. He said he had been fiddling to the fishes for a full hour, and had exhausted all the tunes that he could play without notes. We then asked him what could have induced him to think of fiddling at a time of such peril; and he replied, that he had remarked in his progress through life, that there was nothing in universal nature so well calculated to draw people together as the sound of a fiddle; and he knew that he might bawl until he was hoarse for assistance, and no one would stir a peg; but they would no sooner hear the scraping of his catgut, than they would quit all other business, and come to the spot in flocks. We laughed heartily at the knowledge the parson showed of human nature. And he was right.

Having fixed up the old gentleman's sulky right and tight, and after rubbing down his poor jaded animal, the company insisted on having a dance before we separated. We all had our flasks of whiskey; we took a drink all round, and though the parson said he had about enough fiddling for one day, he struck up with great good humor; at it we went and danced straight fours for an hour and better. We all enjoyed ourselves very much, but came to the conclusion that dancing wasn't altogether the thing without a few petticoats to give it variety.

The dance being over our new friends pointed out the right fording, and assisted the parson across the river. We took another drink all around, and after shaking each other cordially by the hand, we separated, wishing each other all the good fortune that the rugged lot that has been assigned us will afford. My friends retraced the road to Little Rock, and I pursued my journey; and as I thought of their disinterested kindness to an entire stranger, I felt that the world is not quite as heartless and selfish as some grumblers would have us think.

The Arkansas is a pretty fine territory, being about five hundred and fifty miles in length from east to west, with a

mean width of near two hundred, extending over an area of about one hundred thousand square miles! The face of the country from its great extent is very much diversified. It is pretty well watered, being intersected by the Arkansas River, and branches of the Red, Washita, and White rivers. The Maserne Mountains, which rise in Missouri, traverse Arkansas, and extend into Texas. That part of the territory to the southeast of the Masernes is for the most part low, and in many places liable to be overflowed annually. To the northwest of the mountains, the country presents generally an open expanse of prairie without wood, except near the borders of the streams. The seasons of the year partake of those extremes of heat and cold, which might be expected in so great an extent, and in a country which affords so much difference of level. The summers are as remarkable as the winters for extreme of temperature. The soil exhibits every variety, from the most productive to the most sterile. The forest trees are numerous and large; such as oak, hickory, sycamore, cotton-wood, locust, and pine. The cultivated fruit trees are the apple, pear, peach, plum, nectarine, cherry, and quince; and the various kinds of grains, such as wheat, rye, oats, barley, and Indian corn, succeed amazing well. Cotton, Indian corn, flour, peltry, salted provisions, and lumber, are the staples of this territory. Arkansas was among the most ancient settlements of the French in Louisiana. That nation had a hunting and trading post on the Arkansas River, as early as the beginning of the Eighteenth Century. Arkansas, I rather reckon, will be admitted as a State into the Union during the next session of Congress; and if the citizens of Little Rock are a fair sample of her children, she cannot fail to go ahead.

I kept in company with the parson until we arrived at Greenville, and I do say, he was just about as pleasant an old gentleman to travel with, as any man who wasn't too darned particular could ask for. We talked about politics, religion, and Nature, farming, and bear hunting, and the many blessings that an all-bountiful Providence has bestowed upon our happy country. He continued to talk upon this subject, traveling over the whole ground as it were, until his imagination glowed, and his soul became full to overflowing; and he

checked his horse, and I stopped mine also, and a stream of eloquence burst forth from his aged lips, such as I have seldom listened to; it came from the overflowing fountain of a pure and grateful heart. We were alone in the wilderness, but as he proceeded, it seemed to me as if the tall trees bent their tops to listen—that the mountain stream laughed out joyfully as it bounded on like some living thing; that the fading flowers of autumn smiled, and sent forth fresher fragrance, as if conscious that they would revive in spring, and even the sterile rocks seemed to be endued with some mysterious influence. We were alone in the wilderness, but all things told me that God was there. The thought renewed my strength and courage. I had left my country, felt somewhat like an outcast, believed that I had been neglected and lost sight of; but I was now conscious that there was still one watchful Eye over me; no matter whether I dwelt in the populous cities, or threaded the pathless forest alone; no matter whether I stood in the high places among men, or made my solitary lair in the untrodden wild, that Eye was still upon me. My very soul leaped joyfully at the thought; I never felt so grateful in all my life; I never loved my God so sincerely in all my life. I felt that I still had a friend.

When the old man finished, I found that my eyes were wet with tears. I approached and pressed his hand, and thanked him, and says I, "Now let us take a drink." I set him the example, and he followed it, and in a style too that satisfied me, that if he had ever belonged to the Temperance Society, he had either renounced membership, or obtained a dispensation. Having liquored, we proceeded on our journey, keeping a sharp lookout for mill-seats and plantations as we rode along.

I left the worthy old man at Greenville, and sorry enough I was to part with him, for he talked a great deal, and he seemed to know a little about everything. He knew all about the history of the country; was well acquainted with all the leading men; knew where all the good lands lay in most of the Western States, as well as the cutest clerk in the Land Office; and had traced most of the rivers to their sources. He was very cheerful and happy, though to all appearances very poor. I thought that he would make a first-rate agent

for taking up lands, and mentioned it to him; he smiled, and pointing above, said, "My wealth lies not in this world."

THE LAST DAYS IN THE ALAMO

From Crockett's Diary.

MARCH 1. The enemy's forces have been increasing in numbers daily, notwithstanding they have already lost about three hundred men in the several assaults they have made upon us. I neglected to mention in the proper place, that when the enemy came in sight we had but three bushels of corn in the garrison, but have since found eighty bushels in a deserted house. Colonel Bowie's illness still continues, but he manages to crawl from his bed every day, that his comrades may see him. His presence alone is a tower of strength. The enemy becomes more daring as his numbers increase.

March 2. This day the delegates meet in general convention at the town of Washington, to frame our Declaration of Independence. That the sacred instrument may never be trampled on by the children of those who have freely shed their blood to establish it, is the sincere wish of David Crockett. Universal independence is an almighty idea, far too extensive for some brains to comprehend. It is a beautiful seed that germinates rapidly, and brings forth a large and vigorous tree, but like the deadly Upas, we sometimes find the smaller plants wither and die in its shades. Its blooming branches spread far and wide, offering a perch of safety to all alike, but even among its protecting branches we find the eagle, the kite, and the owl preying upon the helpless dove and sparrow. Beneath its shades myriads congregate in goodly fellowship; but the lamb and the fawn find but frail security from the lion and the jackal, though the tree of independence waves over them. Some imagine independence to be a natural charter, to exercise without restraint, and to their fullest extent, all the energies, both physical and mental, with which they have been endowed; and for their individual aggrandisement alone, without regard to the rights of others, provided they extend to all the same privilege and freedom of action. Such independence is the worst of tyranny.

March 3. We have given over all hopes of receiving assistance from Goliad or Refugio. Colonel Travis harangued the garrison, and concluded by exhorting them, in case the enemy should carry the fort to fight to the last gasp, and render their victory even more serious to them than to us. This was followed by three cheers.

March 4. Shells have been falling into the fort like hail during the day, but without effect. About dusk, in the evening, we observed a man running toward the fort, pursued by about half a dozen of the Mexican cavalry. The bee-hunter immediately knew him to be the old pirate who had gone to Goliad, and, calling to the two hunters, he sallied out of the fort to the relief of the old man, who was hard pressed. I followed close after. Before we reached the spot the Mexicans were close on the heel of the old man, who stopped suddenly, turned short upon his pursuers, discharged his rifle, and one of the enemy fell from his horse. The chase was renewed, but finding that he would be overtaken and cut to pieces, he now turned again, and, to the amazement of the enemy, became the assailant in his turn. He clubbed his gun, and dashed among them like a wounded tiger, and they fled like sparrows. By this time we had reached the spot, and, in the ardor of the moment, followed some distance before we saw that our retreat to the fort was cut off by another detachment of cavalry. Nothing was to be done but to fight our way through. We were all of the same mind. "Go ahead!" cried I, and they shouted, "Go ahead, Colonel!" We dashed among them, and a bloody conflict ensued. They were about twenty in number, and they stood their ground. After the fight had continued about five minutes, a detachment was seen issuing from the fort to our relief, and the Mexicans scampered off, leaving eight of their comrades dead upon the field. But we did not escape unscathed, for both the pirate and the bee-hunter were mortally wounded, and I received a saber cut across the forehead. The old man died, without speaking, as soon as we entered the fort. We bore my young friend to his bed, dressed his wounds, and I watched beside him. He lay, without complaint or manifesting pain, until about midnight, when he spoke, and I asked him if he wanted anything. "Nothing," he replied, but drew a sigh that seemed to rend his

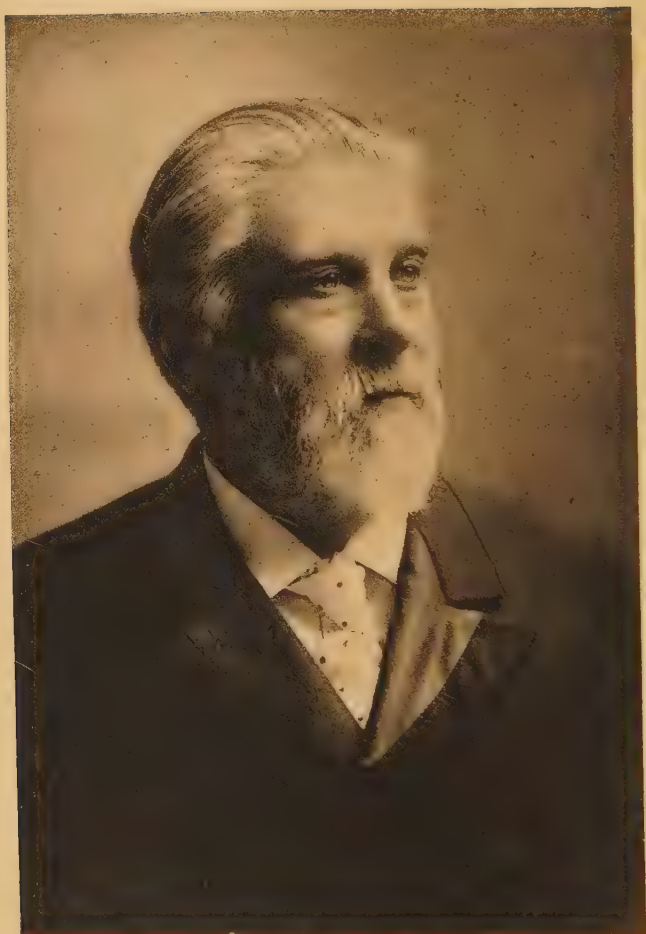
heart, as he added, "Poor Kate of Nacogdoches!" His eyes were filled with tears, as he continued: "Her words were prophetic, Colonel!" and then he sang in a low voice that resembled the sweet notes of his own devoted Kate,

"But toom cam' the saddle, all bluidy to see,
And hame cam' the steed, but hame never cam' he."

He spoke no more, and a few minutes after, died. Poor Kate, who will tell this to thee?

March 5. Pop, pop, pop! Bom, bom, bom! throughout the day. No time for memorandums now. Go ahead! Liberty and independence forever.

[Here ends Colonel Crockett's manuscript]



JABEZ LAMAR MONROE CURRY

JABEZ LAMAR MONROE CURRY

[1825—1903]

EDWIN ANDERSON ALDERMAN

JABEZ LAMAR MONROE CURRY was born in Lincoln County, Georgia, on June 5, 1825, and died in Asheville, North Carolina, on February 12, 1903. During his early childhood, his father, a wealthy planter, emigrated from Georgia to Alabama, and settled about six miles from Talladega in that State. His academic training was received at the University of Georgia, and his legal education at Harvard College, from which he was graduated in 1846 at the age of twenty-one. In 1847 he was elected to the Legislature of Alabama from Talladega County and began his great career as a public servant. For twenty years he served the State of Alabama with singular ability and distinction, as legislator, congressman, soldier and teacher, and though his later life was passed elsewhere, and his services belonged to the Nation, his heart and mind constantly reverted with tender loyalty to that great State, as the land of his young manhood and his home. This long life was a purposeful life, rich in experience of men and governments, and full of devotion, of service, of struggle and achievement. There was never a pause in its unceasing, virile activities, and when the end came I know no man of whom it could be more truthfully said that he had drunk honorable life to its lees. Doctor Curry had been a soldier in two wars, a maker of laws in state and Nation, a teacher and preacher, a writer of useful books, twice a representative of his government at the court of Spain, and a statesman of that truest sort whose faith in the perfectibility of men was unfailing, and whose ambition was to give to all men a chance to inherit the power, the beauty and the richness of life.

The intense, rich life of Doctor Curry covered an equally rich period of his country's history. Thomas Jefferson was still alive when he entered the world. The scene of his youthful activity was the isolated lower South; for, though born in Georgia, Alabama was the State which he served from his entrance into the Alabama Legislature in 1847 to his presidency of Howard College in 1868. He was well born and well educated, and he inherited a certain distinction of manner and presence that commended him well to the genius of his age and region. His young manhood was passed

amid the storm of a great argument, made necessary by the silence and indecision of the Constitution as to the nature of this Union. To our minds, cleared of the hot temper of the time, that age seems an unhappy, groping age; but it was a good age in which to be born, for men were in earnest about deep, vital things. It was, indeed, an age of passion, but of passion based on principles and enthusiasm and deep loyalties. The cynic, the political idler, the self-seeker, fled before those fiery-eyed men who were probing into governmental theories and constitutional interpretations, and who counted their ideas as of more value than their lives. The time had its obvious faults, and was doomed to fall before the avatar of progress; but there lived in it beauty and force, and a great central note of exaltation of personality above social progress. Around the fireside the talk did not fall so much upon the kind of man who forms the syndicate or corners the stock market, or who wages the warfare of trade around the world, but, rather, simple, old questions were asked which might have been asked in the Homeric age: Is he free from sordidness or stain? Has he borne himself bravely in battle? Has he suffered somewhat with courage and dignity? Has he kept faith with ideals?

Doctor Curry had reached his prime when the great drama, fate-driven and fate-determined, passed from argument into war, and he himself, caught in the grip of that same fate, notwithstanding all his gentleness and tenderness, played the part of a man and a soldier. He had reached the heights of middle age when the storm had passed and pain and despair had smitten so many souls. What is there for a strong man to do—a man of heart and courage, with a spirit unspoiled by hate or bitter memories, with a purpose unshaken by any doubt? This was the great interrogatory that faced him in the silence of his soul. There could be no bickerings for such men as he. There could be no crude racial scorn, no pettiness, no puerile obstinacy. His passion was for constructiveness. His supreme genius was for adaptability to environment. He saw his task lying before him—like a sunlit road that stretches straight before the traveler's feet. He was to walk in that path for all his remaining days. The quality of his mind, the sum of his gifts and graces, the ideals of contemporary civilization suggested forensic preferment, but no consideration of fortune or of self could swerve him from his course. The quiet man at Lexington who had borne the greatest burden of all saw the same vision that appeared to Curry. It was a vision of many millions of children standing impoverished and untaught amid new duties, new occasions, new needs; appealing to the grown-up strength of their generation to know why they should not have a country to love, an age to serve, a

work to do, and training for that work. The vision was life—unconquered, tumultuous, renewing, regenerative young life. The elders had had their day. Here stood undefeated youth asking a chance to live worthily in its world and time. George Peabody, away off in Massachusetts, saw the same vision. It did not matter to him that these youths were the sons of men who had been enemies to his cause. It did matter to him that youth which the Nation needed was springing up untrained; and, rising clear above small passions, he poured his great fortune into the stricken states. Our amazing democracy has nothing finer to show than the spectacle of these three men acting thus largely in a time of national passion and headiness.

The general agency of the Peabody and Slater boards came to Doctor Curry in 1881 as the opportunity of his life, and his last years were to be years of splendid youth wherein he was able to work resolutely for high national ends. The Peabody Fund came into the field of helpfulness, and during a period of thirty years, under the wise administration of great American citizens, and directed by the energy and insight of Barnes Sears and J. L. M. Curry, expended, in stimulating ways, the sum of two million, four-hundred and seventy-eight thousand, five hundred and twenty-seven dollars. No more impressive evidence of the influence of this fund and of the monumental work of Curry and Sears can be found than in a plain recital of facts.

In every one of the Southern States to-day there is a public system of schools more or less complete. To bring this to pass a war-stricken region has expended one hundred and sixty-five millions of dollars. Normal and industrial schools for both races, sustained by general and local taxation, exist in every state. Thirty great institutions of higher learning have been revived and established. Five thousand Southern boys are studying technological subjects where ten studied them in 1873. Practically every city or town of three thousand population maintains a school system from which boys and girls may pass into college. The percentage of illiteracy for the white race in the twelve Southern States has been reduced from 25 per cent. to 12.5 per cent., and the colored race from 87 per cent. to 47.5 per cent. And greater than all this, a generous and triumphant public sentiment has been aroused that will in another decade make these performances seem feeble. Can it be claimed that ever before in the history of the Republic so much good was accomplished as has been accomplished by the expenditure of two and one-half million dollars plus the heart and brain of men like Curry and Sears and their colleagues and followers? I do not claim, of course, that all this wonderful achieve-

ment was due solely to these boards and to their agents. That would be absurd. The efforts of these boards would have been farcical if they had not been projected upon the spirit of a self-reliant and unconquerable people. It was simply the meeting of a great idea with a great people, and there followed a great result. The task that confronted him, in its larger lines, was to democratize the point of view of an aristocratic society, to renationalize its ideals and its impulses, to preach the gospel of national unity to both sections, to stimulate the habit of community effort for public ends, to incarnate to young men the ideal of social service, and to set the public school, in its proper correlation to all other educational agencies, in the front of the public mind as the chief concern of educational statesmanship. His task, in its more technical aspect, was to reveal the public school as it should be—actually at work in a democratic form of society, with all of its necessities—trained and cultured teachers, varied curricula, industrial training, and worthy surroundings. From 1881 to 1895 his work was to be a battle for public opinion. And slowly that public opinion was born, and many earnest men gathered around this splendid figure, and under its influence young scholars had their creative instincts awakened and public men felt its stirrings in the air. Above it all and energizing it all stood this genuinely gifted man—I had thought to say old man, but there was never any suggestion of age about Doctor Curry. He met youth on its own grounds and asked no odds. As the things of sense faded from his sight there was vouchsafed to him that supremest good of life—an honest bit of creative work, well done and bearing fruit.

At the beginning of his work not a single Southern State had a system of free public schools. At his death there existed in every one of the Southern States a system of public schools more or less complete, and a wonderful activity in university, normal, technical and industrial education. And, greater than all this, a generous and triumphant public sentiment had been aroused that will never stop short of efficiency and perfection. It was given to him to see Southern governors turned into educational statesmen, and to behold the best brain and heart of the North and the South united in a common and intelligent purpose, to get at this great task right heartily.

His was the first voice to declare that the strategic point of this whole battle was the untaught white man and his child. He was among the first to declare that there was no place for a helot in our system, and that the negro should be properly trained for life in the Republic. He was among the first to urge common sense as against sentimentality in the education of the negro. He caused

the world to know something of the courage and patience and self-reliance of the Southern struggle for self-realization, and he made the world believe that there were strength and purpose enough in this people to solve their own problems with justice and wisdom. In the discharge of all these duties of the pioneer and propagandist, no man who has lived in America since Horace Mann has shown such energy and enthusiasm as J. L. M. Curry.

Personally, Doctor Curry was a man to enjoy and to love. He had the grand manner and the social instincts of the old order. He moved in a fine, lordly way among his fellows. But at his heart he was a democrat to the core, and an individualist in the structure of his mind and in his sublime patience with and belief in the unfailing rectitude of public impulse. He had the genius for giving himself out and the equipment of intellect and temperament necessary for his many-sided duties. The real genius of the man, as I have said, was for adaptability to his time and for sympathy and service on the side of its better forces. The most vivid characteristic of the man was his intense and complete Americanism. He had believed in his youth in the ethics, at least, of secession. He did not change that belief in his old age. Calhoun was second only to Aristotle in his regard; and yet I have never seen a man to whom the flag made such an appeal or to whom the great unrended Nation was so dear.

The unforgettable service of Doctor Curry was the development of an irresistible public opinion for the education of all the people in the Southern States. The great lesson of his life is the joyous fruitfulness of unselfish striving for high impersonal aims. His fame is secure, for it is the persistent fame of the teacher and reformer. Is it not our task—the task of the living—to press forward with patience and quiet resolve; not to be deterred, not to despair, nor fret, nor doubt? Surely this work we are in is the Nation's work, and this Nation is a great spiritual adventure, worth living for and working for, as well as dying for.

Elwin R. Alderman .

NATIONAL PERIL AND REMEDY

Delivered at Louisville, Kentucky, in September, 1883, before the Inter-State Educational Convention.

It is a fact of some interest that this Inter-State Educational Convention meets not very far from the centre of the population of the United States. It must be the earnest desire of all here assembled that influences for good may be set in motion which shall spread to the extreme limits of the Union.

Another auspicious circumstance is that we meet in Kentucky. In 1811, Stein, the great German statesman, the forerunner of Bismarck, said, while meditating a plan of emigration to America: "To enjoy rest and independence it would be best to settle in America, in Kentucky or Tennessee; there one would find a splendid climate and soil, glorious rivers, and rest and security for a century—not to mention a multitude of Germans. The capital of Kentucky is called Frankfurt." Seventy-two years ago the great German, with his prescience, did not dream of what our eyes see to-day. In the light of subsequent events America would have presented other attractions than gifts of Nature and furnished themes for profounder contemplation in her rapid growth of population, increasing 12,000,000 in ten years; in her enormous productive industries; in her fabulous applications of science; in her startling powers of recuperation; in her complex governments; in her vast and unparalleled agencies for education. For crushed and Bonaparte-ridden Germany he saw clearly that the only hope was education. Frederick William, after the bitter humiliation Prussia suffered, said: "Though territory, power, and prestige be lost, they can be regained by acquiring intellectual and moral power," and the general education subsequently secured to the people reversed, in the wars against Austria and France, the abasement of the Napoleonic period. It is the prime business and duty of each generation to educate the next. No legislation in the United States is more important than that which pertains to the universal education of our citizens. In the convention which framed the Constitution, Wilson, the most learned civilian of the body, said: "Property is not the sole nor primary end of government and of society; the improvement of the human mind is the most

noble object." President Garfield said: "Next in importance to freedom and justice is popular education, without which neither justice nor freedom can be permanently maintained."

This convention emphasizes the importance of education by giving especial prominence to the subject of aid from the General Government. Federal aid is reducible to a few very simple propositions, each of which is capable of indefinite illustration and argument.

The basis of free institutions is the intelligence and integrity of the citizen. This foundation is not simply indispensable to good government, but to the permanence and success of our Republic. Washington, in his farewell address, said: "In proportion as the structure of a government gives force to public opinion, it is essential that public opinion should be enlightened." Madison said: "It is universally admitted that a well instructed people alone can be permanently a free people." All our wisest patriots confirm the declarations of these two men, who were most influential in bringing about the Union and framing the Constitution. The "democratic ideal is that the many shall govern themselves." Self-government by the many is impossible, if the many be ignorant. They become dupes and slaves of the crafty few. The best government is that which governs least. The good and enlightened are a law unto themselves. "The maximum of education," says a profound thinker in Georgia, "is the minimum of government." The minimum of education is the maximum of restraint, interference, coercion. In a popular government an educated people is the best constitution. The more universally the people are educated, the greater the liberty which can be allowed. "The world is governed too much," is an old adage. The best limitation of government is right education. It secures a better selection of rulers, better watchfulness of agents, and is the best check on oppression, on corruption, on unwise and class legislation. Ignorance and despotism are always in partnership.

General intelligence reduces the need of harsh and external government; makes protection of person and property easier, surer, and more economical; gives readier mastery over narrowness and prejudice, the fruitful source of so much legislative wrong; and substitutes the teacher for the sheriff, the

workshop for the poorhouse, the school-house for the prison. "For every pound that you save in education," said Macaulay, "you will spend five in prosecutions, in prisons, in penal settlements."

Universal education, even approximately, is impossible, except through governmental direction and public revenues. "The best educated communities on the globe are those where governmental direction, in matters of education, is most constant and careful." There is no instance of an unenlightened people becoming cultured by spontaneous efforts or of general education through private or denominational agencies. Italy, Spain, and Austria show the inadequacy or insufficiency of parochial or sectarian schools. Prior to the war the wealth of the people of the South was greater per capita (slaves being excluded from the enumeration) and pauperism was less than in any country in the world. Flourishing academies and colleges existed, superior advantages for the elect few, both men and women, abounded; but there was no adequate provision for universal education, and of consequence there was deplorable illiteracy among the white people.

The resources of the South are wholly inadequate to meet the heavy burden which is upon her. In her present financial condition, universal education, without Federal aid, is distant—is impossible. In the most advanced and prosperous countries schools and their management are not upon a satisfactory basis. Governor Butler is reported as saying that even in Massachusetts ninety-two per cent of the children receive no education after they attain the age of fifteen years. On an average, our people do not get more than thirty months' schooling. This is true in highly prosperous localities; but the Southern States are poor. I am no pessimist or alarmist. The progress in mining and in manufactures has been great, but agriculture and tillage and common roads are not in a flattering condition. Excluding Delaware, Maryland, and Missouri, the assessed valuation of property in the remaining Southern States diminished between 1860 and 1880 \$2,432,730,524. The State of New York is said to be worth in taxable property as much as all the Southern States. Ignorant labor dooms to poverty. It is idle to be drawing roseate pictures of the "new South" until the laboring classes are far

ahead in intelligence and skill of present attainments. The loss from stupid or unskilled labor would educate a hundred times over every child in the South. With her sparse population, with means not half what they were in ante-bellum days, with double the number of children to be educated, it is impossible for the South, by any tax short of confiscation, to provide education for the children within her borders.

Ours was designed to be a representative government. Representatives are not mere deputies. A representative is to think for his constituency, to give them the benefit of intelligence, patriotism, profound study of the Constitution, and political economy and statecraft. He is to enrich his mind by observation, travel, study of history, diplomacy, and biography, to discipline his powers by thorough training, and thus fit himself for his responsible duties.

Ignorant suffrage reverses all this, and puts in public councils the weak, vacillating, ill informed, corrupt. Fidelity to principle, courageous adherence to convictions, broad culture, ripe judgment, sage experience, will be of little worth; and the voice of the rabble becomes the interpreter of laws, the decider of contracts, the moulder of policy. The principle of inter-citizenship is, I believe, peculiar to our confederation. A citizen of one state is a citizen of every other state. Combine with this the far reaching results of the elective franchise, as affecting directly the election of President and Representatives and indirectly of Senators, and illiteracy assumes darker and broader proportions. An election in the most benighted congressional districts concerns every citizen of the Union and every interest dependent on taxation, the currency, or any general legislation. Not merely the South, but the whole Union is imperilled by ignorant and, therefore, controllable suffrage. In view of the inability of the South and of these perilous possibilities, the patriotism of the country makes an appeal to the Government for prompt and adequate relief.

The illiteracy of the negroes creates an imperative obligation. Unlike other immigrants, they came to America by compulsion, under circumstances of peculiar hardship and cruelty. Their servitude was recognized and guaranteed by State and Federal Constitutions, by international treaties, by congressional legislation, by judicial decisions. The Govern-

ment of the United States suddenly emancipated the slaves; as suddenly raised them to citizenship and made them voters. They possessed no property to make them conservative, no habits or traditions of self-government, no education to qualify them for the duties and privileges of freemen and citizens. Cunningly and systematically misled and inflamed, they have become the tools of demagogues and the prey of the wicked. Manumission and enfranchisement create an obligation on the part of the Federal Government to fit them for the temptations and responsibilities of citizenship, and save them and our institutions from the perils of ill understood liberty and ignorant and reckless use of the franchise. Negroes are free, but as the distinguished Commissioner of Education (than whom no American is doing more for the cause of popular enlightenment) has tersely said: "The slavery of ignorance remains."

Negroes are the wards of the Nation. Philanthropy, humanity, party success, and fanaticism all wonderfully combine for their elevation and education. There are, however, thousands of illiterate men and women of our own race, our own kith and kin, for whom our special sympathies are awakened and who make no appeal to partisan or sectarian selfishness. The danger of illiteracy of the black voters is perhaps no greater than the danger of illiterate white voters. The consequence of the illiteracy of white women may be more alarming, because more far reaching. Whatever is said about the elevation of "our brother in black" appeals to my heart and judgment and has my ready coöperation, but the white people are in peril, too. Slavery is abolished, God be praised; but the negro remains in the South in the closest contact with the Caucasian, and putting aside all questions of ethnology, of comparative capability, he is a blind simpleton or a madman who does not see, and tremble while he sees, that the presence on the same soil of two populous and distinct races, ineffaceably marked by opposite colors, with centuries of traditions and habits behind each not easily forgotten or adjusted, is a problem and a peril that statesmen, philosophers, and philanthropists seem not to have begun to study. Superadd to race prejudice and chasm-producing traditions, deep poverty; derangement of labor system; slow and painful adaptation to a

different, even if a better civilization; the current of immigration flowing anywhere rather than to the South, notwithstanding the genial climate, pure and abundant water, superior healthfulness, cheap and productive lands, exhaustless and varied mineral products—and the patriot and the Christian may well have his whole being stirred to the profoundest depths when he seeks to penetrate the dark future and interrogate as to the destiny of his home and his people. Often deeply concerned fathers and mothers ask me “What of the night?” I can only answer, Do what lies nearest in the light of duty and conscience and the Scriptures and leave results to God. If any safe solution there is it must be in the school-house and church-house, in education and in the gospel of Jesus Christ, bearing in mind that the object of education is not so much the imparting of knowledge as the developing of power and the building up of inward strength of character. Education is no catholicon, any more than freedom is; it does not cure social and political ills. It must be supplemented by and allied to the uplifting, renovating, regenerating power of the Christian religion.

Some nations have strong and dangerous neighbors and rivals. Self-preservation seems to require of them the maintenance of armies which, while furnishing the means of repelling external assaults, constitute a heavy drain on the productive industries of the population. Geography, or peculiarity of situation, determines their policy and forbids freedom and spontaneity of action. With our expanse of territory, with no rivals on our frontiers, our self-protection finds its sphere and duty in guarding against internal foes. We need school-houses rather than frowning forts, pupils rather than soldiers, an educated citizenship rather than armed battalions.

We are fortunately free from all treaties in reference to balance of power, all controversies as to succession, all negotiation as to royal alliances, all disputes as to adjustment of boundaries, all uneasiness as to disparity in armies and navies. The obligations to be safe and the precautions for security make European governments dangerous to subjects and formidable to neighbors. The strength to protect or resist begets the desire—tempts—to encroach, to use power selfishly and aggressively. Ability to resist external foes is acquired at

the expense and to the detriment of the people, and, as history shows, is almost always fatal to personal rights and popular liberty.

What is needful to save us from the perils of illiteracy, instead of being dangerous to the people at home or to nations abroad, will rather be beneficial to both. Our industry, resources, national wealth, commerce, exchanges, will be increased. Power, instead of being centralized, will be diffused. Instead of ignorant, transferable voters, dupes and tools of the wary and corrupt, we shall have intelligent men and women, loving liberty, jealous of arbitrary power, watchful of agents, and capable, by their own sustained and voluntary energy, of protecting and perpetuating our free institutions.

The biographer of Stein developed with minuteness the genesis and value of the idea of nationality as contradistinguished from loyalty to the State and influencing literature, politics, and sacrifices. To this he traces the remodelling of Italy and Germany and the rearrangement of the east of Europe. From it sprang the revolutions, the patience, persistence, resiliency, unconquerableness, which rescued Central Europe from the conquests of Napoleon. Fichte, in his inquiry for a comprehensive remedy for the evils which, in his time, afflicted Germany, found it in a grand system of national education. In our system of coequal and correlated states, a national system of education is undesirable, as is a national university, and the subordination of state school systems to Federal direction and control is contrary to the genius of our institutions. The separate states are not to be absorbed nor sunk into provincial dependencies. We seek the harmonious blending of the centrifugal and centripetal, liberty and union, local self-government and a Federal Government, all preserved in strength and orderly unity.

National aid to state schools will secure the benefits of a national education. A national tie, as distinct from a civic tie, springing from a common origin, from inbred instincts, from a common country, common literature, common struggles and triumphs, common hopes and aspirations, is capable of being formed and strengthened. Herder, Lessing, Wieland, and Goethe, in their zeal for humanitarian cosmopolitanism, may deride patriotism as at the utmost a heroic weakness, but pa-

triotism, love for the whole country, not to be confounded with fidelity to the state, is a potent factor of civilization, an essential element of national greatness and glory. There is a subtle, potential influence, springing from the proud consciousness of belonging to a great and honored country, which evokes manly self-respect and generates noblest deeds of daring and chivalry. To be an American is something quite distinct from being a New Yorker or a Kentuckian, and is a "well spring of character" such as exalted the Roman citizen in the days of his country's greatest glory. This broad patriotism can be enkindled or stimulated by a measure of relief which comes in an hour of need, and which shall conduce to the obliteration of sectional prejudices, to the unification of the people, and the preservation of our free institutions.

NEGOTIATIONS FOR THE ACQUISITION OF FLORIDA

From 'Constitutional Government in Spain.' Copyright, 1889, by Harper and Brothers.
By kind permission of the publishers.

It is difficult to realize the vexatious vicissitudes which attended this long-drawn-out negotiation. In course of time it at last became apparent, even to Spain, that Florida must come under the sovereignty of the United States. The idea of its transference to another foreign power was not to be tolerated for a moment. Its continued retention by Spain, remote, proud, sensitive, jealous, involved in foreign wars and chronic internal turmoils, would generate ceaseless trouble and necessitate quasi-belligerent forces on the border. Indian incursions and depredations, unprevented by Spanish authorities, made it imperative to cross the line in pursuit, and for the punishment of the savages. "Masterly inactivity," a phrase borrowed by Mr. Calhoun, in his Mexican War speeches, from Sir James Mackintosh, was too feeble a policy. The vigilance of Erving and other ministers was unceasing. Efforts to purchase were thwarted. Negotiations were begun and suspended. Procrastination was pursued under specific instructions to that end. The patience and forbearance and moderation of the United States had been wonderful. Even Mr. Adams restrained largely his irritability of temper and vitriolism of pen; but

this patient submission was manifestly nearing an end. Mr. Onís, seeing that procrastination as a game and a policy was exhausted, sent, on October 24, 1818, to Mr. Adams, a proposition to cede all the property and sovereignty possessed by Spain in and over the Floridas, under certain conditions. The conditions were promptly rejected; a "final offer" on the part of the United States was made; matters grew worse, and belligerent measures seemed imminent. Mr. Adams, October 31, 1818, used this significant language: "The President is deeply penetrated with the conviction that further protracted discussion . . . cannot terminate in a manner satisfactory to our Governments. From your answer to this letter he must conclude whether a final adjustment of all our differences is now to be accomplished, or whether all hope of such a desirable result is, on the part of the United States, to be abandoned." After some letters, showing a wide divergence of views, on January 11, 1819, Mr. Onís announced that by a courier extraordinary from his Government he was authorized to give a greater extent to his proposals. On the ninth he submitted his *projet*, and Mr. Adams on the thirteenth responded by a counter *projet*. At this point Mr. Hyde de Meuville, the French Minister, at the request of Mr. Onís, "confined by indisposition," had an interview with Mr. Adams, and a full and free discussion of the two *projets*. Explanations and modifications were made, and on February 22, 1819, was signed in Washington "a Treaty of Amity, Settlement, and Limits," which provided for the cession of Florida and "the reciprocal renunciation of certain claims as adjusted by a joint commission." The commissioner had power to decide conclusively upon the amount and validity of claims, but not upon the conflicting rights of parties to the sums awarded by them. *Comegys v. Vasse*, 1 Peters, 193. The spoliation claims held by the United States against Spain were renounced, and the United States undertook to make satisfaction for the same to the amount of five millions of dollars.

The Rio Grande contention was given up, a majority of the Cabinet overruling Mr. Adams, and holding that the immediate acquisition of Florida was too important to be jeopardized, or "clogged by debatable demands for territory to the southwest." The intervening neutral territory, the uninhabited

desert, the impassable barrier between the two countries, which for so many years and so often was proposed and relied upon to prevent conflict of jurisdiction and of people, seems to have been quietly ignored. The Louisiana boundary was settled by following the Sabine, Red, and Arkansas rivers as far westward as the 42d degree of north latitude and pursuing that degree to the Pacific Ocean. In settling disputed boundaries, and, in fact, in making this treaty, the United States did not assent to the claim of sovereignty or ownership over the territory between the Mississippi and the Perdido. Both legislative and executive departments of the Government, prior to 1819, treated territory west of the Perdido as part of the territory acquired from France in 1803, and in *Pollar v. Files*, the Supreme Court declared as the settled doctrine of the judicial department of the Government that the treaty of 1819 ceded no territory west of the Perdido River.

The United States exonerated Spain from all demands in the future on account of the claims of her citizens, and undertook to make satisfaction for the same to an amount not exceeding five millions of dollars. It is commonly stated that the United States purchased Florida for that sum of money. In the negotiation the Spanish Minister objected to the article stipulating for the payment, on the ground that it would appear from it that in consideration of that amount Spain had ceded the two Floridas and other territories, when she would not have ceded them for \$20,000,000 but for her desire to arrange and terminate all differences with the United States. In 1805, Monroe and Pinckney, in their proposal to the Spanish Government for the cession of Florida, said that Florida was not valuable for its land, and suggested that the sum paid "for the whole of the province of Louisiana furnished a just and suitable standard" as to what would be proper in paying for Florida. The area of Florida is 56,680 square miles, and Mr. Jefferson paid \$15,000,000 for all the country west of the Mississippi not occupied by Spain, as far north as the British territory, and comprising, wholly or in part, the present states of Arkansas, Kansas, Missouri, Iowa, Minnesota, Nebraska, Oregon, and Colorado, and the Indian Territory, and the territories of Dakota, Idaho, Montana, Washington, and Wyoming.

The treaty, submitted to the Senate on the day it was signed, was at once unanimously ratified, thus giving additional lustre to the birthday of Washington. Before the adjournment of Congress, acts were passed authorizing the establishing of local governments over the acquired territory. John Forsyth, of Georgia, was appointed Minister to Spain, and he carried with him a copy of the treaty and minute instructions as to exchange of ratifications. So confident was the Government of early action, that the *Hornet*, which carried Mr. Forsyth, was ordered to remain at Cadiz a sufficient length of time to carry back the ratified copy. So anxious and so certain of speedy assent were the authorities at Washington, that instructions were sent to Mr. Erving that it might be expedient for him to exchange the ratifications, if by any accident the formal reception of Forsyth should be delayed "beyond a very few days." Fearing the absence of Mr. Erving, on account of the infirm state of his health, or the non-arrival of Mr. Forsyth, a special messenger, with duplicate copies of treaty and instructions, was sent to Mr. Thomas L. Brent, the Secretary of Legation, so that he might exchange the ratifications. After this twenty years of negotiation it was supposed that the trouble was ended; but he who measures a Spaniard by the ordinary standard will find himself, in the end, grievously disappointed.

Long experience has been condensed into a popular proverb, *Del dicho al hecho va mucho trecho*—From the saying to the doing is a great distance. The *Hornet* returned in the summer, not with the ratification, but with recriminatory despatches because of the unexpected and inexcusable delay. Spain did not give her assent. She offered various evasive excuses and pretexts. She might promptly have disavowed the treaty as in excess of her instructions. She did not. She consented to the negotiations. She knew what had been done, and seven months passed before she uttered a word of complaint. When it became known that Spain refused to confirm the contract and interposed frivolous excuses for her conduct, much indignation was aroused, and harsh measures had advocacy in the press and in Congress. It was well said the cession was no new thing, and that the agreement, from preliminary steps to final consummation, was as well known in Madrid

as in Washington, at least so far as substance was concerned. President Monroe said in his message that Spain had formed a relation between the two countries which would justify any measures on the part of the United States which a strong sense of injury and a proper regard for the rights and interests of the nations might dictate. Adams contended that Spain was under obligations of honor and good faith, and in a letter to the chairman of the Committee of Foreign Relations, Mr. Lowndes, of South Carolina—author of the phrase, "I had rather be right than be President"—asserted the "perfect right of the Government to compel a specific performance of the engagement and secure indemnity for the expenses and damages which grew out of the refusal of Spain to ratify. Intemperance of language and proposal was met by wise counsel, and the proposed immediate military occupation was defeated. After weary years of patience and of earnest effort to avoid war, very fortunately the country was not precipitated into it by the hotheads and hotspurs. It was well determined to await the logic of events, and not hazard the gaining of what must surely, like ripe fruit, fall into our hands. General Jackson once said, "Geography controls my politics," and so the geographical position of Florida made it inevitably a part of the Union. Count Aranda, when he was Prime Minister of Spain, as far back as 1783, distinctly foresaw and acknowledged the necessity of the acquisition.

The irritation felt at the repudiation of a solemn international compact excited general attention, and it was felt that a war might produce grave international complications, and transfer not only Florida but Cuba and Texas also to the United States. France and Great Britain remonstrated with Spain, and she realized that the temporizing and procrastinating policy must give way to positive and definite action. On October 24, 1820, the Cortes having previously authorized and advised, the King, Ferdinand VII, approved and ratified the treaty. Such was the slowness of communication in those days, that four months elapsed before the ratification was known in Washington. (I have received instructions from the State Department by post in eleven days.) The time fixed for joint ratification, six months, having expired, the treaty was resubmitted to the Senate, and ratified a second

time, February 19, 1821. On the twenty-second—again connecting the hallowed day with Florida—the House of Representatives gave their assent to the necessary legislation.

Thus an acquisition long sought for, essential to our internal quiet and to save us from foreign intermeddlings, strifes, and conspiracies, was consummated. For nearly a quarter of a century the negotiations were pursued in Spain or in Washington—sometimes interrupted by fretful suspension of diplomatic intercourse, by the revolutionary disturbances in Spain, by English and French wars, by Spanish tenacity for American possessions, and the incurable propensity not to do to-day what can be deferred until to-morrow. No one can read the correspondence in full without a high appreciation of the patriotism and ability of Madison, Monroe, Pinckney, Adams, and Erving. Their State papers show patience, forbearance, courtesy, dignity, tact, power of argument, familiarity with international jurisprudence, and intense loyalty to our institutions. It is not easy to comprehend the disadvantages under which our able negotiators labored in the earlier periods of our history, when our rights as a member of the family of nations were ignored or grudgingly conceded. The credit of the Florida success is enhanced when we consider the personal and national characteristics of the Spaniards. With unquestioned courage, chivalry, scrupulous observance of etiquette, they are vain, proud, sensitive, distrustful of foreigners, obstinate in their own opinions, and possessed of a most patience-wearing disposition to procrastinate. The stoical fatalism of the Moor seems in some of its forms to have been bequeathed to his conqueror.

This protracted negotiation is a noble tribute to American diplomacy. The general public sees the external work, the final result, the actors in the last scene of the historic drama, and is ignorant or unobservant of the quiet secretary or Minister, in his office, at official interviews, in social intercourse, watching for opportunities, seizing propitious occasions, removing prejudices, presenting arguments in every possible aspect, and removing protean objections. It is he who prepares for the ultimate victory. George W. Erving, far away in Madrid, did more to acquire Florida than every senator who voted to ratify the treaty. It is a pleasant reflection and honoring to

our country and civilization that although we were often on the ragged edge of war, yet without a drop of blood the question was settled, boundaries were determined, conflicting claims were adjusted, and a large territory was added to our national domain.

SOUTHERN CONSERVATISM

From 'The Southern States of the American Union.' Copyright by J. L. M. Curry.
Published by Geo. P. Putnam's Sons. By kind permission of the owner of
the copyright.

THE principles, policy, and necessity of the South led her to rigid conservatism. A thoughtful scholar notes as a striking antithesis that "a feudal aristocracy like that of slave-holding Virginia produced the most pronounced and inveterate type of *democratic* politics that has ever existed in our party formations," and that after the Declaration of Independence "the socially aristocratic and prelatical State of Virginia hastened to declare religious liberty." One has not far to go to find solution for these seeming paradoxes. Purest freedom and strongest restraint are in entire harmony. A denial to the Federal Government of a right to resort to and use undelegated powers, and an insistence upon an adherence to the imposed limitations, naturally reacted in favor of State rights and home rule and the individual liberty of the citizen. This home rule, and slave-holding, and personal freedom created a sentiment of individualism, of self-control, of local government, of opposition to interference of government with individual and property rights, of manly, chivalrous independence, of family sacredness, of voluntarism in action, of freedom of conscience. In the Southern States, under the old system, there had been less yielding to popular clamor, more consistency in political action, firmer support of public men, less variation from year to year in elections, and more concern for principle than for mere expediency. The Northern States revised their constitutions, or made new ones, much oftener than did the Southern States. "No hardier Republicanism," says Gladstone, "was generated in New England than in the slave states of the South which produced so many of the greatest statesmen of America." A Justice of the Supreme Court says that the

basis of the enigma of the so-called slave power lay in the cool, vigorous judgment and unerring sense applicable to the affairs and intercourse of men, which the Southern mode of life engendered and fostered. The South was a barrier against libidinous democracy. In the Revolutionary War, and the nascent, formative period of the Federative Republic, there were no mutinies, no Shay rebellions, no Arnolds, as since there were, up to the reconstruction period, and later, no strikes nor labor complications. The great change wrought by the States in resuming their sovereignty, and in forming the Confederate States Government, was attended by no anarchy, no rebellion, no suspension of authority, no social disorders, no lawless disturbances. Sovereignty was not, for one moment, in suspension. Conservatism marked every proceeding and public act. The object was to do what was necessary and no more; and to do that with the utmost temperance and prudence. St. Just, in a report to the Convention of France in 1793, said: "A people has but one dangerous enemy, and that is Government." The seceding States, where there was an unparalleled universality of conviction as to the necessity and rightfulness of resistance, adopted no such absurdity. In nearly every instance the first steps were taken legally, in accordance with the will and prescribed direction of the constituted authorities. The people were not remitted to brute force, or to natural law, or to the instincts of reason. The charters of freedom were scrupulously preserved. As in the English Revolution in 1688, and ours of 1776, there was no material alteration in the laws beyond what was necessary to redress the abuses that provoked the secession. No attempt was made to build on speculative principles. The effort was confined within the narrowest limits of historic precedent and constitutional right. The controversy turned on the records and muniments of the past. The States had their Governors, General Assemblies, and Courts; the same electors, the same corporations, "the same rules for property, the same subordinations, the same order in the law and in the magistracy." The States, when assembled in council, did not make but sought to prevent a revolution.

Being in the minority having a "peculiar institution," African slavery, and schooled from the beginning in the States-Rights theory, the Southern States naturally tended to conser-

vatism in politics, to making much of protective guarantees, and to holding the General Government within the limitations of the Constitution. Slavery had been recognized in the written compact or compromises as a basis of representation, and by a mandate for the delivery of fugitives. That instrument attributed to the individual States the exclusive right to determine the status of American citizenship, and of the freedom of slavery of the persons domiciled in them. When slaves ceased to be held at the North as property, "the history of the times in which the framework of the common Government was reared, the mutual concessions made by the parties to it, the fixed resolves as to what should not be surrendered from the custody of the states themselves," were all forgotten, the anti-slavery sentiment became more violent and aggressive, and awakened more acute apprehensions at the South. The Constitution, amendable, as was supposed, only by prescribed and dilatory methods, was clung to as furnishing a breakwater against the mad waves of fanaticism and wrong, and as a security for solemnly guaranteed property. It was well known from oft-repeated historical precedent that officials, even the most honest, are inclined to a liberal construction of their own powers, and to hostility to popular or community rights, but it was not for a long time dreamed or suspected that the Constitution was to be readily suspended whenever it stood in the way of personal ambition, or party exigency, or sectional passion. The habit, however, of strictly construing the contract, and seeking to restrain the delegated powers within the defined boundaries, became operative as a principle and rule of action, and, when adverse attacks were made, consolidated the South into an unbroken phalanx for the defence of the Constitution. Prior to the crisis of 1860 to 1865, it was a favorite method of political and sectional attack to ridicule Southern statesmen as abstractionists. In reality this was a compliment, because such abstractions imply the highest inductions of political philosophy, the results of the profound study of the science of politics, of the history of governments, of civil experiments under most varied circumstances. The student of our constitutional history will be constantly struck with the marked and characteristic divergence of opinion and action between the North and the South, in adherence to the

Constitution and the recognition of its binding force. The debates in Congress show constant reference on the one side to the Constitution, and equally constant ignoring or contempt on the other. Books on constitutional law and decisions of courts show a studied purpose on the one side to enlarge the scope of Federal power and minimize the reserved powers and the rights of the States, and on the other to define closely the enumerated powers and to maintain for the States respectively or the people thereof the great residuary mass of undelegated powers.

REVENUES OF THE CONFEDERACY

From 'Civil History of the Confederate States.' Copyright by J. L. M. Curry and published by B. F. Johnson. By kind permission of the owner of the copyright.

It has sometimes been sarcastically or censoriously asked, what evidence of statesmanship was furnished by the Confederate States. The reply is obvious. The energies of the Confederacy were absorbed in the effort to preserve its life and protect its territory from hostile aggression. There was little opportunity or occasion for civic ability. The Constitution, when prejudices shall have subsided, will be regarded as a great American contribution to the science of government. The Congress discharged its duty when troops were raised and officered and adequate equipments were furnished. Armories for army and navy, guns and ammunition, transportation, food and clothing were what pressed most heavily on the government. The blockade of ports (which contributed so largely to the final overthrow of the Confederacy), increasing occupancy of the territory within the seceded states, absence of factories for making clothing, and such like hindrances made it no easy task to supply the needs of soldiers, especially when military service took away from their homes and business a very large proportion of all males over eighteen years of age. An extended frontier by land and sea, of thousands of miles, gave the enemy, with numerous vessels and an organized, well-equipped army of over a million of men at the close of the first year of the war, frequent opportunities for successful incursions and for contracting our seven hundred thousand square miles.

The financial system became the question of gravest concern. Customs-duties were a slim reliance when incoming vessels had to run a watchful and ever-strengthening blockade. Foreign students of Confederate history are strongly of the opinion that the blockade, in excluding arms and munitions and other necessities of war from a country without means of supply, was the most fatal of all the causes which conspired for our defeat. A war tax, very burdensome, was cheerfully paid. Loans and bonds and treasury notes and call certificates were resorted to. Partial relief was found by levying a tax in kind upon farm products, such as corn, wheat, oats, rye, potatoes, peas, beans, sugar, molasses, tobacco, rice, cotton, wool, hides, as well as upon beef, pork and bacon. At the surrender there was on the line of the railways and rivers, between Jackson, Mississippi, and Montgomery, Alabama, enough corn to supply the demand for breadstuffs for a year or more. Abundant as was the supply of corn, the people were put to "great straits" to get salt and sugar and coffee and medicines. As indicative of the worthlessness of the currency, I paid \$1,250 for two mules and \$100 for two pairs of cotton cards. The farmer or planter was allowed to retain fifty bushels of sweet and Irish potatoes, one hundred bushels of corn or fifty bushels of wheat, twenty bushels of peas or beans and a certain amount for raising hogs. Horses and mules were impressed, and slaves also, for working on fortifications. There lie before me, as I write, personal receipts for such taxes levied on the produce of my farm in Alabama. These receipts are on brown paper and have a dingy, archaic appearance. Nearly all official papers, the school and other books, printed during the war, as well as bonds and currency, were on very inferior paper. A distinguished Alabama lawyer in November, 1863, said that no apology, on account of scarcity of paper, was needed for his use of a leaf torn from a blank book.

All the expedients the critical situation suggested and required could not prevent ruinous depreciation of notes. Efforts were made to retire from circulation some of the issues of Treasury notes by funding them in bonds, but the manifest and implacable purpose of subjugation and the certainty of a long and impoverishing struggle made it impossible for the

Government to pay interest in specie, or to redeem at maturity. The premium on coin went up to dizzy heights. All agricultural products and articles of merchandise were inflated to fabulous prices. Those who held a surfeit of notes could find no objects of investment. Under these irremediable conditions, which only substantial and decisive victories could change for the better, the credit of the Confederacy failed, promises to pay had no valid basis, and the precedents of our colonies and of the Revolutionary France found new illustrations in the Confederacy. Her notes became as valueless as Continental currency, or as French assignats, or as Kruger's "South African Republic" paper money. On the first of October, 1864, when the end was rapidly approaching, the public debt was \$1,126,381,025.

There was in those days a prevalent opinion, partially well-founded, that Cotton was King. The Southern States had a monopoly of this important staple. The manufacturing districts of England and of the world were dependent on this Southern product. The foreign and Northern press wrote much on the growth and supply of cotton, the capabilities of India and Egypt, and a Liverpool journal declared this the greatest question of the civilized world. Many of the leading men of the South trusted in the commercial and industrial supremacy of cotton, a power as great as armies and navies, and relied on it as a political factor to "force the hand" of Great Britain and secure the recognition of the Confederate States as an independent power. It did not seem an overstrained judgment to rely on the efficiency of cotton to compel European intervention. Soon the manufacturing districts in England began to feel the pressure of a meagre supply. Looms, which had consumed forty thousand bales in a week, could not hope for more than four thousand. Prices went up to a half crown a pound and remained at that high figure. Disturbances were serious and operatives were thrown on parishes for relief.

The cotton famine of 1861-1863, when from 1,500,000 bales the supply diminished to 11,000, produced most serious distress in Birmingham, Manchester, and other manufacturing centers, and the want of employment and consequent loss of wages were distressing. In spite of these evil consequences, cotton failed, in this most critical period, to demonstrate su-

premacy. If it had been susceptible of being used promptly and unitedly, it is difficult to say what might not have been its influence on the conflict. Perhaps no subject, apart from military campaigns, elicited warmer discussion or wider differences of opinion among Congressmen, newspapers, and those who, not in public station, gave serious thought to measures for public safety. The decreasing supply of cotton stimulated efforts at production in other temperate latitudes and a facilitating export by government permission or connivance, by running the blockade, or by hurrying it on railroads to places where it could be transported North. To use this lever in every possible way the Confederate Congress put a discriminating tax on its production, and legalized destruction whenever it was about to fall into the hands of the enemy. The distressing condition of operatives in England and France, the danger of strikes and internal revolution, the suspension of large factories, seemed likely to compel foreign succor to the government, and thus hindered the Confederate authorities from conceding through treaty negotiation commercial privileges and advantages. A considerable amount of cotton was from time to time accumulated as a basis of credit, or to pay for needed supplies. Governor Vance said that, at the surrender of General Johnstone, North Carolina had on hand 11,000 bales of cotton and 100,000 barrels of rosin, most of which fell into the hands of Federal officers. The brutal avidity with which some of these officers, after the surrender, used the means at their command to "loot" farms and enrich themselves by seizure of cotton gave striking illustration of human depravity.

How to deal with cotton and make it most available as an auxiliary to the Southern cause, as stated, did not secure a concurrence of judgment or consistent and effective action. Some urged that all cotton be seized by the Government and held as security for bonds or Confederate money; others, more wisely, the export to foreign countries and storing for the same purposes; others the pledging of all to Great Britain if recognition and material aid would thereby be secured. Others, with much earnestness, insisted that there should be absolute free trade with all nations except the United States; or, what was a more favorable project, that there should be an agreement with

Great Britain by which she should have a monopoly, or the exclusive benefit of the Southern trade for a period of twenty years.

ANGELS AND MINISTERS

From 'Civil History of the Confederate States.' By kind permission of B. F. Johnson Company.

AFTER the battle of Manassas up to Appomattox, Richmond and other cities were freely used as homes for sick and wounded soldiers. In Richmond, and the same was true elsewhere, tobacco factories were turned into hospitals, provided with cots, bedding and other comforts, and doctors and nurses and preachers were in constant and helpful attendance. A list, printed in the *Whig* newspaper in 1862, gives the name and location of thirty-five public and private hospitals in Richmond. Supplies were sent from all the states as well as by individuals and women's organizations. Women, the most refined, the noblest and best cultured in the land, left their homes, took up their residences adjacent to hospitals and became Florence Nightingales, daughters of the Red Cross, for all who needed care or comfort. It is reproachfully said by alien writers that the Southern women are more "unreconstructed rebels" than the men. It is certainly true that they did as much as the men in winning the battles, and they are now foremost in building monuments and preserving the record of immortal deeds.

As the years went on leaden-footed, the greater was the number of those who returned no more and the severer became the privations of home life, with scantier lists of comforts and "shortened tale of hopes." Transportation, mills, factories, were monopolized for government uses, the circulating medium became hourly more worthless in purchasing power; medicines, luxuries, and even necessities were shut out by the blockade. No house had an idler, hands of the aged and of children were busy in the field, in the garden, in the kitchen, at the spinning wheel and the loom, and all were helping in works of charity and patriotism. For coffee a substitute was found in toasted corn and wheat and potatoes; for tea, in sassafras; sorghum supplied sugar and molasses, and

earthen floors of smoke-houses, saturated by the dripping of bacon, were dug up and boiled for necessary salt.

We hear and read much of delicately pampered "females" in ancient Rome and modern Paris and Newport, but in the time of which I speak in this Southland of ours womanhood was richly and heavily endowed with duties and occupations and highest social functions, as wife and mother and neighbor, and these responsibilities and duties underlay our society in its structure and permanence as solid foundations. Instead of superficial adornments and supine action, the intellectual sympathies and interests of these women were large, and they undertook, with wise and just guidance, the management of households and farms and servants, leaving the men free for war and civil government. These noble and resolute women were the mothers of the Gracchi, of the men who built up the greatness of the Union and accomplished the unexampled achievements of the Confederacy. Knowing no position more exalted and paramount than that of wife and mother, with the responsibilities which attach to miniature empire, the training of children and guidance of slaves, each one was as Cæsar would have had his companion, above reproach and above suspicion, and whose purity was so prized that a violation of personal dignity was resented and punished, by all worthy to be sons and husbands and fathers of such women, with the death of the violater. "Strength and dignity were her clothing; she opened her mouth with wisdom, and the law of kindness was on her tongue. She looked well to the ways of her household, and she ate not the bread of idleness. Her children rose up and called her blessed; her husband also."

Our "peculiar institution" of domestic African slavery in *ante-bellum* days created and nurtured a class of women never surpassed in the world. A plantation was a little kingdom, presided over by husband and wife, betwixt whom there existed mutual respect, deference, admiration and love. In the household gathered respectful, obedient, loving children. Near and around were dependents, who did not claim social equality, but rendered cheerful obedience and service and were cared for tenderly from cradle to coffin. Those who dominated were intelligent, masterful, patriotic, loving home, kindred, state and country, dispensing a prodigal hospitality, limited only by

the respectability and behavior of guests. Among girls, refinement, culture, modesty, purity and a becoming behavior were the characteristic traits; among boys, courtesy, courage, chivalry, respect to age, devotion to the weaker sex, scorning meanness, regarding dishonor and cowardice as ineffaceable stains. Their education was respect for women, riding, hunting, speaking the truth. Poetry and romance have yet to portray, in truthful colors, the attractions and beauties of the Southern home, now of the irrevocable past. When inequality was threatened and states were to be degraded to counties, and the South became one great battlefield, and every citizen was aiding in the terrific conflict, the mothers, wives, sisters, daughters, with extraordinary unanimity and fervor, rallied to the support of their imperilled land. While the older women from intelligent conviction were ready to sustain the South, political events and the necessity of confronting privations, trials, and sorrows developed girlhood into the maturity and self-reliance of womanhood. Anxious women with willing and loving hearts rushed eagerly to every place where sickness or destitution or the ravages of war invaded, enduring sacrifices, displaying unsurpassed fortitude and heroism. Churches were converted into hospitals or places for making, collecting, and shipping clothing and needed supplies. Innumerable private houses, near or adjacent to battlefields, were filled with the sick and the wounded. It was not uncommon to see grandmother and youthful maiden engaged in making socks, hats and other needed articles. Untrained, these women entered the fields of labor with the spirit of Christ, rose into queenly dignity and enrolled themselves among the immortals. Energies, time, lives were given to the alleviation of the suffering, cheering of the homesick, and to the inspiration of the hopeless and the despairing. With active courage, resolute endurance, cheerful self-restraint and exulting self-sacrifice, they imparted fresh courage to the brave, quickened response of the laggard and poured shame and contempt on him who shirked or sought the bomb-proof. Day and night these ministering angels seemed as if they had made an exodus from Heaven. Boundless patriotism, courageous endurance, surprising elation of thought and action were exhibited. Feminine tenderness was broadened and deepened by this self-sacrificing ministry. Su-

peradded to these trials and duties were the necessary supervision of servants and farms and the performance of duties which hitherto had devolved upon the men. Hanging over homes and hearts were ceaseless apprehensions and the weary absence of the loved ones.

One of the most interesting books, written on a high plane of Christian sympathy and principle, is "Christ in the Camp," whose author is well known as "the fighting chaplain." Full of intelligent zeal and saintly curiosity, besides what he saw and shared in, Dr. Jones has gathered thrilling incident and holy example from camp and hospital, principally from the armies east of Mississippi. It is not claiming too much to say that the Southern people were an unusually religious people, free from heresies and isms and trusting implicitly in an inspired Bible and in the religion of Christ. This involved a reliance on Providence more marked in that day than this. The early movements at the South were invariably associated with religious ceremonies, and autograph letters from Jackson show that he opposed Sunday mails and urged the appointment of chaplains for the army. With the first regiments went out regimental chaplains, Protestant and Catholic, who were generally neighbors and friends and well known to "the boys." In camp, on the march, these spiritual advisers were not strangers nor alien in thought and feeling, but in fullest sympathy with the soldiers, having known many from childhood and being intimate with their parents. When battles occurred they were near the firing line, ready with canteen and needed supplies to minister to the wounded or to assist to the hospital in the rear.

Not infrequently the warrior spirit was awakened and chaplains forgot themselves and seized a musket to repel, or make successful, a charge. Churches gave up their pastors and theological seminaries suspended their work that students might go to the front. One famous Richmond preacher found pulpit on a caisson or in the end of a wagon, and was not regarded as heterodox when, on the invitation of a clerical brother, he took his place within the chancel, minus a clerical gown and even in his shirt sleeves. It was a camp rumor, too much in keeping with their piety to be denied, that Generals

Jackson and Gordon held torches so that the preacher might read the Scriptures.

When in winter quarters the soldiers would construct wooden tents, in which worship was conducted sometimes for weeks, and the best preachers of the states were glad to officiate. Revivals were frequent, and the different denominations had their membership much enlarged by faithful converts. Dr. Jones estimates conversions at 15,000 in Lee's army; Dr. Bennett puts the number in all the Confederate armies at 50,000. The names of the preachers and colporteurs not holding official appointments are legion, but I recall Bishops Early, Quintard, McFerrin, Marvin, Pierce, and Doggett; Palmer, the Hoges, Jeter, Burrows, the Rylands, Cobb, Broadus, Minnigerode, Edwards, Duncan, Renfroe, Father Ryan, Tichenor, Haygood, Dickinson, Slaughter, the Taylors, Prichard, and scores more.

The pulpit furnished some of the best officers. The most conspicuous was Bishop Polk, who became a lieutenant-general, and not far from whom I was standing when he was killed. Several generals were on the brow of a hill making observations when they attracted the fire of the enemy. All withdrew a few paces, except the bishop, and he, lingering, received a fatal wound, which threw the army in North Georgia into deepest sorrow. From the ministry came also such officers as Lowry, Evans, Pendleton, Capers, Mell, Talbird, Smith, Shoup, Dabney, Harrison, Willis, Peterkin, Chapman, Kelley, Hiden, and others. Hundreds of preachers were in the ranks.

In several of the states were interferences both by military and civil authorities with churches and worship. In Alexandria, Virginia, one preacher was made to ride on a "cow-catcher" so as to keep Mosby's men from firing on the Union soldiers, and he was forbidden to preach or to celebrate marriages. Professor Shaler says that ministers of the Gospel were required to swear allegiance before they could legally perform the marriage rite. "In fact, it came about that even loyal people could hardly get through the activities of a day without at least once or twice swearing allegiance to the State and Federal Government." "In his ordinary contacts with the people, an officer was constantly engaged in swearing men and women

as to what they had done in the past or would do in the future."*

This degradation of religion was illustrated in Alabama, when General Woods issued an order by which Bishop Wilmer and his clergy were suspended from their functions and forbidden to preach or to perform divine service. In Missouri, the tyranny was carried to such an extreme as to close all churches. Protestant and Catholic, whose ministers or members were not in active sympathy with the Union.

*Shaler's 'Kentucky,' page 322.

ROBERT LEWIS DABNEY

[1820—1898]

J. GRAY McALLISTER

FOUR names stand out like mountain peaks when one thinks of that part of the Presbyterian Church which lies within the territory of the South—the names of James Thornwell, of South Carolina, Robert L. Dabney and Moses D. Hoge, of Virginia, and Benjamin M. Palmer, of Louisiana. Of these four, Thornwell and Dabney were eminent as theologians, Hoge and Palmer as pulpiteers. All have been fortunate in their biographers. Dr. Palmer has written ably of Dr. Thornwell; Dr. Peyton H. Hoge has given us a fine portrait of his uncle, Dr. M. D. Hoge, and Dr. Thomas Cary Johnson has done work of conspicuous merit in presenting the lives of the other two men in this group of four. In his 'Life and Letters of Robert Lewis Dabney,' this virile student and teacher of history portrays an eventful life, one that begins in the golden age of ante-bellum Virginia, develops through the stress of war and the humiliation or reconstruction, and ends with the better days of a closing century. It is the portraiture of a massive man, the life-story of one who came to distinction in half a dozen lines of worthy work, and who, now that we may cast up the proportion of the man and his finished service, must without doubt take rank with the largest men the South has yet brought forth.

Robert Lewis Dabney, A.M., D.D., LL.D., was born at his father's mill-place on the South Anna River, Louisa County, Virginia, March 5, 1820. He came of staunch English stock, which did not need to mingle with its own the strain of the Meriwethers and the Randolphs to gain ample heritage of blood. The father of Robert Lewis Dabney was Charles Dabney, Jr., a soldier of the War of 1812, colonel of militia in Louisa County and member of the Legislature of Virginia, a man of the highest standing and of unblemished Christian character. When Dr. Dabney was a mere lad his father moved to his farm on Cubb Creek, Louisa County, and there the boy received, in an old-field school, his preparation for entering Hampden-Sidney College in 1836. Here the acknowledged leader of his class, he studied through two summer sessions and a winter session until September, 1837. His favorite teacher in the faculty was the celebrated Dr. John William Draper, pioneer

in photography and voluminous writer on physical and political science; and among his college-mates and close friends were Thomas S. Bocock, the future Speaker of the Confederate Congress; Moses Drury Hoge, later the prince of Virginia preachers, and William T. Richardson, for many years editor of the *Central Presbyterian*, of Richmond. Young Dabney left Hampden-Sidney expecting to return after a year of teaching, but within the year, which was spent in work in a quarry, and in helping to build with his own hands the cabin in which for some months he taught school, he accepted the offer of his aunt, Mrs. Reuben Lewis, of Albemarle County, to attend the University of Virginia by riding in from her home, and in 1842 he became a Master of Arts of that institution. The two years following were spent in managing the farm, teaching school, reading and corresponding; the next two years at Union Theological Seminary, Hampden-Sidney, where he graduated in 1846, the most distinguished student in his class. His preparation for life secured, there can be given but an outline of his long and varied service: missionary in Louisa County for a year; pastor of Tinkling Spring Presbyterian Church, Augusta County, Virginia, 1847-1853; Professor of Ecclesiastical History and Polity in Union Theological Seminary, Hampden-Sidney, Virginia, 1853-1859; Professor of Theology in the same institution, 1859-1883; Adjutant-general and Chief of Staff to Stonewall Jackson, April to September, 1862, a post he resigned, on the urgent advice of Surgeon Walton, after a long and all but fatal spell of camp fever; Professor of Philosophy in the University of Texas, and founder there of Austin Theological Seminary, 1883-1894; lecturer and writer, 1894-1898. He died at Victoria, Texas, January 3, 1898, and was buried in the cemetery belonging to Union Theological Seminary at Hampden-Sidney, Virginia.

The literary work of Dr. Dabney has been by far the greatest, in bulk and value, produced by any writer of the Southern Presbyterian Church. This work began early and continued through the whole of his long life, his last service, on the morning of the day he died, being the dictation for a page of the *Union Seminary Magazine*, of a brief sketch of Dr. Francis S. Sampson, a friend and former colleague, a memoir of whom he had published in 1854, and whose 'Commentary of the Epistle to the Hebrews' he had edited in 1855-1856. He was from the first a great letter-writer, keenly observant, often humorous, always independent. His earlier letters reveal a rare maturity and his later letters an almost startling blazing through to principles. His famous letter to the Rev. S. I. Prime, D.D., on "The State of the Country" (1861), written when absent from home, and as a single effort, illustrates his mastery of thought

and breadth of information and deserves to rank with the noblest defences of Virginia in casting in her lot with the Southern Confederacy. The list of his published writings shows that he was a frequent, it need not be said a valued, contributor to the religious and secular press of his day, the *Richmond Enquirer*, the *Watchman and Observer*, the *Central Presbyterian*, the *Christian Observer*, the *Presbyterian Quarterly*, and the *Southern Presbyterian Review* being among the periodicals in which his contributions were seen most frequently. He was one of the founders and constant supporters of the *Presbyterian Critic*, which lived a brief but brilliant life from 1855 to 1857, and for a number of years he was co-editor of the *Southern Presbyterian Review*. His work in authorship proper began with the preparation of his 'Defence of Virginia and the South,' written while at home in 1862-3, a book which the Confederate Government determined to have printed and circulated abroad, but the publication of which was delayed until 1867. Dr. Dabney's 'Life of General (Stonewall) Jackson' next laid tribute on his powers and industry, a work of 750 pages, that was undertaken at Mrs. Jackson's request soon after the death of General Jackson on the tenth of May, 1863. The book was finished just before the war closed and was published first in London and then, in 1866, in New York. From the nature of the case it could not be as complete as biographies written years later, when access could be had to detailed reports from combatants on both sides; but its ability is unquestioned, its style is forceful and easy, and both traits and events are presented in such a way as to hold the attention of the reader and leave with him a clear picture of this genius in war, and the stirring life in which he bore his part. Colonel Henderson, in the preface to his own great life of Jackson, speaks of Dabney's work as "powerful," the events as "vigorously described," and the writer as a man of "conspicuous ability." A book on 'Sacred Rhetoric' appeared as the product of his pen in 1870, a work of sustained vigor, and, with few exceptions, of noble style; and in 1871 appeared the first edition of his 'Theology,' the second edition, a work of 900 pages, appearing in 1878. This book, dealing at points with subjects, the profoundest that can engage our thinking, is marked throughout by tireless research, titanic wrestling, and rugged style. In this great work, as in others, the style is but the servant of the thought, and even in passages of beauty the writer does not hesitate to use the less elegant word "crowd" for "group" when the truth would thereby be driven further home. In 1875 Dr. Dabney made the world of thought his debtor by the publication of another great work, 'The Sensualistic Philosophy of the Nineteenth Century Considered,' to be issued in a second, and an

enlarged edition in 1887, and to win justly the rank of "one of the greatest philosophic philippics ever penned." The year 1896 saw the issue of another book from his pen, his 'Practical Philosophy.' The very arrangement shows the sweep and the logic of the work, which is in four books, the first of which takes up "The Psychology of the Feelings"; the second, "The Will"; the third, "Ethical Theories," and the fourth, "Applied Ethics." This Dr. Dabney himself regarded as the best work of his life. It is the product of a master. In the following year, 1897, his friend of many years, the talented Dr. Clement Read Vaughan, himself an author, brought out the fourth volume, thus completing the set of Dabney's 'Discussions,' a book made up of the stream of articles that for many years had been pouring from his pen. All of these articles are able, and many are worthy of especial mention; such, for example, as "The Believer Born of Almighty Grace"; "The Christian Soldier"; "The Christian's Best Motives for Patriotism"; "The Duty of the Hour" (1868); "Ecclesiastical Equality of Negroes" (1869); "The New South" (1882); "The Philosophy Regulating Private Corporations"; "The Sabbath of the State"; "Monism"; "Stonewall Jackson." Dr. Dabney's last book, 'Christ our Penal Substitute,' was published soon after his death. Less pretentious than any of his works, it yet betrays no abatement of the vigor that always marked the man.

Dr. Dabney's fame in literature will rest, and justly so, on his work in prose, yet in leisure hours he turned aside to poetry and produced verses, some of which are not unworthy of preservation, as witness the opening lines of his poem, "The San Marcos River"

Mysterious river! Whence thy hidden source?

The rain-drops from far distant field and fell,
Urging through countless paths their darkling course,
Combine their tiny gifts thy flood to swell.

What secrets hath thy subterranean stream

Beheld; as it hath bathed the deepest feet
Of everlasting hills, which never beam

Of sun or star or lightning's flash did greet?
Over what cliffs rushed thou in headlong fall

Into some gulf of Erebus so deep
Thy very foam was black as midnight's pall;

And massive roof of rock and mountain steep
Suppressed thy thunders, so that the quick ears
Of fauns recumbent on its lofty side

Heard not; and grass-blades laden with the tears
Of night dews, felt no quiver from thy tide?

Through days and weeks uncounted by the sun,
Thy waters in abysmal caves have lain
In slow lustration, ere they sought to run
Forth to the day, purged from earth's least stain.
Pallas-Athene of the rivers, thou!
Who leapest adult in thy glittering might
From yonder hoary mountain, Zeus's brow,
Whose cloven crags parted to give thee light.
Thou teachest us, wise virgin; as through caves,
Sad and tear-dropping, steal thy sobbing waves,
Then flash to day; so Virtue's weeping night
Shall surely break into the dawn's delight.

At the bier of this man, whose work is destined to abide, Dr. M. D. Hoge, his friend since early manhood, spoke eloquently of "Regnant Men"—men of the type of him whose loss they mourned—and in strictest truth declared that "Such men are the acknowledged leaders of the State; they are the lights and landmarks of the Church; they are the grand pillars in the temple which God is rearing in the world to the glory of His grace."

J. G. Wallister.

OPEN LETTER TO DR. S. IRENÆUS PRIME

From 'Life and Letters,' pp. 225-231. Copyright by Presbyterian Committee of Publication, Richmond. By kind permission of the publishers.

DR. DABNEY, in common with large numbers of his fellow-citizens of the South, was a Union Democrat, and with them maintained a strenuous and long continued opposition to the war between the states. The coercive measures of President Lincoln changed all this, and "in this paper the writer changes his tone from one of solemn and affectionate entreaty to one of stern defiance. It was a vindication of Virginia's right to go to war against the Federal Government at Washington. Constitutional Union men accepted it as their defence for turning into war men . . . It was thrown off in a single impromptu effort, but it was nevertheless the outcome of indefinite pondering. As defining his position, and that of such men as Lee and Jackson and Jefferson Davis and Alexander Stephens, *et id omne genus*, constitutional men," says his biographer, "it deserves reproduction."

APRIL 20, 1861.

REVEREND AND DEAR BROTHER:

I took occasion, as you will remember, in lifting up my feeble voice to my fellow-Christians on behalf of what was once our country, to point out the infamy which would attach to the Christianity of America if, after all its boasts of numbers, power, influence, and spirituality, it were found impotent to save the land from fratricidal war. You have informed your readers more than once that you feared it was now too late to reason. Then, I wish, through you, to lay this final testimony before the Christians of the North, on behalf of myself and my brethren in Virginia, that the guilt lies not at our door. This mountainous aggregate of enormous crime, of a ruined Constitution, of cities sacked, of reeking battle-fields, of scattered churches, of widowed wives and orphaned children, of souls plunged into hell; we roll it from us, taking the Judge to witness, before whom you and we will stand, that the blood is not upon our heads. When the danger first rose threatening in the horizon, our cry was "Christians to the rescue." And nobly did the Christians of Virginia rally to the call. Did you not see their influence in the patriotic efforts of this old Commonwealth to stand in the breach between the angry elements? Yes, it was the Christians of Virginia,

combined with her other citizens, who caused her to endure wrongs, until endurance ceased to be a virtue; to hold out the olive branch, even after it had been spurned again and again; to study modes of compromise and conciliation until the very verge of dishonor was touched; to refuse to despair of the republic, after almost all else had surrendered all hope, and to decline all acts of self-defence, even, which might precipitate collision, until the cloud had risen over her very head, and its lightnings were about to burst. So long-suffering, so reluctant to behold the ruin of that Union to which she contributed so much, has Virginia been, that many of her sons were disgusted by her delays, and driven to fury and despair by the lowering storm and the taunts of her enemies. And those enemies (woe to them for their folly) mistook this generous long-suffering, this magnanimous struggle for peace, as evidence of cowardice! They said the "Old Mother of States and Statesmen" was decrepit; that her genius was turned to dotage; that her breasts were dry of that milk which suckled her Henrys and her Washingtons. They thought her little more than a cowering beldame, whom a timely threat would reduce to utter submissiveness. And thus they dared to stretch over her head the minatory rod of correction! But no sooner was the perilous experiment applied than a result was revealed, as unexpected and startling as that caused by the touch of Ithuriel's spear. This patient, peaceful, seemingly hesitating paralytic flamed up at the insolent touch like a pyramid of fire, and Virginia stands forth in her immortal youth, the "unterrified Commonwealth" of other days, a Minerva radiant with the terrible glories of policy and war, wielding that sword which has ever flashed before the eyes of aggressors, the *Sic semper tyrannis*. Yes, the point of farthest endurance has been passed at length. All her demands for constitutional redress have been refused; her magnanimous, her too generous concessions of right, have been met by the insolent demand for unconditional surrender of honor and dignity; her forbearance has been abused to collect armaments and equip fortresses on her border and on her own soil for her intimidation; the infamous alternative has been forced upon her either to brave the oppressor's rod or to aid him in the destruction of her sisters and her children,

because they are contending nobly, if too rashly, for rights common to them and to her; and, to crown all, the Constitution of the United States has been rent in fragments by the effort to muster new forces, and wage war without authority of law, and to coerce sovereign states into adhesion, in the utter absence of all powers or intentions of the Federal compact to that effect. Hence, there is now but one mind and one heart in Virginia; and from the Ohio to the Atlantic, from the sturdy mountaineers and her chivalrous lowlanders alike, there is flung back in high disdain the gauntlet of deathless resistance. In one week the whole State has been converted into a camp.

Now once more, before the Titanic strife begins, we ask the conservative freemen of the North, For what good end is this strife? We do not reason with malignant fanatics, with the mob whose coarse and brutal nature is frenzied with sectional hatred. But we ask, Where is the great conservative part, which polled as many votes against Abraham Lincoln as the whole South? Where are the good men who, a few weeks ago even, held out the olive branch to us, and assured us that if we would hold our hands, the aggressive party should be brought to reason? Where is that Albany Convention, which pledged itself against war? If it is too late to reason, even with you, we will at least lay down our last testimony against you before our countrymen, the church, and the righteous heavens.

Consider, then, that this appeal to arms, in such a cause, is as dangerous to your rights as to ours. Let it be carried out, and whatever may have befallen us, it will leave you with a consolidated federal government, with State sovereignty extinguished, with the Constitution in ruins, and with your rights and safety a prey to a frightful combination of radicalism and military despotism; for what thoughtful man does not perceive that the premises of the anti-slavery fanatic are just those of the agrarian? The cause of peace was then as much your cause as ours; and if war is thrust upon us, you should be found on our side, contending for the supremacy of law and constitutional safeguards, with a courage worthy of the heroes of Saratoga and Trenton.

How horrible is this war to be, of a whole North against

a whole South! Not to dwell on all its incidents of shame and misery, let us ask, Who are to fight it out to its bitter issue? Not the tongue-valiant brawlers, who have inflamed the feud by their prating lies about the "barbarism of slavery;" these pitiful miscreants are already hiding their cowardly persons from the storm, and its brunt must be borne by the honest, the misguided, the patriotic men of the North, who, in a moment of madness, have been thrust into this false position.

How iniquitous is its real object—the conquest and subjugation of free and equal states! We have vainly boasted of the right of freemen to choose their own form of government. This right the North now declares the South shall not enjoy. The very tyrants of the Old World are surrendering the unrighteous claim to thrust institutions on an unwilling people. Even grasping England, which once endeavored to ruin the Colonies she could not retain, stands ready to concede to her *dependencies* a separate existence, when they determine it is best for their welfare; but the North undertakes to compel its *equals* to abide under a government which they judge ruinous to their rights! Thus this free, Christian, Republican North urges on the war, while even despotic Europe cries, Shame on the fratricidal strife, and turns with sickening disgust and loathing from the bloody spectacle!

Let it not be replied that it is South Carolina which has first gone to war with you, and that Virginia has made herself *particeps criminis*, by refusing to permit her righteous chastisement. This is what clamoring demagogues say; but before an enlightened posterity, as before impartial spectators, it is false; and here let us distinctly understand the ground the conservative North means to occupy, as to the independence of the states in their reserved rights. If you do indeed construe the federal compact so that a ruthless majority may perpetrate unconstitutional wrong, may trample on the sacred authority of the Supreme Court, and may pervert all the powers of the Federal Government, instituted for the equal good of all, to the depression of a class of rights as much recognized by the Constitution as any other, and the minority have no remedy except submission; if you mean that sovereign states, the creators by their free act of these federal author-

ities, are to be the helpless slaves, in the last resort, of their own servant; if you mean that one party is to keep or break the compact as his arrogance, caprice or interest may dictate, and the other is to be held bound by it at the point of the sword; if you mean that a sovereign state is not to be the judge of its own wrong and its own redress, when all constitutional appeals have failed, then we say that it is high time that we understood each other. Then was this much-lauded federal compact a monstrous fraud, a horrid trap, and we do well to free ourselves and our children from it at the expense of all the horrors of another revolutionary war. The conservative party in the North declared, with us, that the platform of the Black Republican party was unconstitutional. On this their opposition to it was based. They proclaimed it in their speeches, they wrote it on their banners, they fired it from their cannon, they voted it at the polls, that the Chicago platform was unconstitutional; and now that this platform has been fixed on the ruins of the Constitution, and its elected exponent has declared, from the steps of the Capitol, that the last barrier, the Supreme Court, is to be prostrated to the will of the majority; now that the Conservative party of the North has demonstrated itself (as it does this day, by its succumbing to this fiendish war-frenzy) impotent to protect us, themselves, or the Constitution (the Constitution overthrown according to their own avowals), are we to be held offenders because we attempted peacefully to exercise the last remaining remedy, and to pluck our liberties and the principles of this Constitution from the vandal hands which were rending them all, by a quiet secession? Nay, verily! Of all the men in the world, the conservative men of the North cannot condemn that act, for they have *declared* the Constitution broken, and they have *proved themselves* incompetent to restore it; and least of all should Virginia be condemned for this act, because she magnanimously forbore it till forbearance was almost her ruin, and until repeated aggressions had left no alternative. Yet, more, Virginia cannot be condemned, because, in the ordinance of 1788, in which she first accepted this Constitution, she *expressly reserved* to herself the right to sever its bonds, whenever she judged they were used injuriously to her covenanted rights.

It was on this condition she was received into the family of states, and her reception on this condition was a concession of it by her partners. From that condition she has never for once receded. (Witness the spirit of the Resolutions of 1798-1799.) And now, shall she be called a covenant-breaker because she judges that the time has come to exercise her right expressly reserved? Nay, verily.

If, then, we have the right of peacefully severing our connection with the former confederation, and the attempt has been made by force to obstruct that right, *they who attempted the obstruction are the first aggressors*. The first act of war was committed by the Government of Washington against South Carolina, when fortresses intended lawfully, only for her protection, were armed for her subjugation. That act of war was repeated when armed preparations were twice made to reinforce these means of her oppression. It was repeated when she was formally notified that these means of her oppression would be strengthened, "peaceably if they could be, forcibly if they must." And then, at last, after a magnanimous forbearance, little expected of her ardent nature, she proceeded to what was an act of *strict self-defence* — the reduction of Fort Sumter.

But it is replied: the seceding states have committed the intolerable wrongs of seizing Federal ships, posts, property, and money, by violence! And whose fault was this? Had the right of self-protection outside the Federal Constitution been peacefully allowed us, after our rights had been trampled in the mire within it, not one dollar's worth would have been seized. All would yet be accounted for, to the last shoe-latchet, if the North would hold its hand. The South has not seceded because it wished to commit a robbery. As for the forts within their borders, the only legitimate right the United States could have for them was to protect those states. When we relinquish all claims on that protection, what desire can the Federal Government have to retain them save as instruments of oppression? But you say they were forcibly seized! And why, except that the South was well assured (have not events proved the fear well grounded) that a purpose existed to employ them for her ruin? My neighbor and equal presumes to obstruct me in the prosecution of my rights,

and brandishes a dirk before my face; when I wrench it from his hand to save my own life, shall he then accuse me of unlawfully stealing his dirk? Yet such is the insulting nonsense which has been everywhere vented to make the South an offender for acts of self-defence, which the malignant intentions disclosed by the Government of Washington have justified more and more every day.

But it is exclaimed, "The South has fired upon the flag of the Union!" Did this flag of the Union wave in the *cause of right* when it was unfurled as the signal of oppression? Spain fired upon the flag of France when Napoleon laid his iniquitous grasp upon her soil and crown. Did this justify the righteous and God-fearing Frenchman in seeking to destroy Spain? Let the aggressor amend his wrong before he demands a penalty of the innocent party who has only exercised the right of self-defence.

It is urged again: If the Union is not maintained, the interests of the North in the navigation of the Gulf and the Mississippi, in the comities of international intercourse, in the moneys expended in the Southern States for fortifications, may be jeopardized. I reply, it will be time enough to begin to fight when those interests are infringed. May I murder my neighbor because I suspect that he may defraud me in the division of a common property, which is about to be made, and because I find him now more in my power? Shall not God avenge for such iniquity as this?

But it is said, in fine, "If the right of secession is allowed, then our government is only a rope of sand." I reply, demonstratively, that the government of which Virginia has been a member has always had this condition in it as to her—for her right to go out of it whenever she judged herself injured by it was expressly reserved and conceded from the first. Her reception on those terms was a concession of it. If you say that the people of the North are not aware of this, then the only reply we deign to give is, that it is no one's fault but yours that you have allowed yourself to be misled by rulers ignorant of the fundamental points in the history of the government. Now, my argument (and it is invincible) is this: That the connection of Virginia with the Federal Government, although containing always the right of seces-

sion for an infringement of the compact, has been anything else, for eighty years, than a rope of sand. It has bound her in a firm loyalty to that Government. It has been a bond which nothing but the most ruthless and murderous despotism could relax; a bond which retained its strength, even when it was binding the State to her incipient dishonor and destruction. Surely it is a strange and disgraceful fact that men who call themselves *freemen and Christians* should assume the position that no force is a real force except that which is cemented by an inexorable physical power! Do they mean that with them honor, covenants, oaths, enlightened self-interest, affections, are only a rope of sand? Shame on the utterance of such an argument. Do they confess themselves so ignorant that they do not know that the physical power of even the most iron despotisms reposes on moral forces? Even a Presbyterian divine has been found to declare that if our federal compact has in it any admission of a right of secession, it is but a *simulacrum* of a government. Whereas, all history teaches us that if the basis of moral forces be withdrawn from beneath, the most rigid despotism becomes but a *simulacrum*, and dissolves at the touch of resistance. How much more, then, must all republican government be founded on moral forces, on the consent, the common interests, and the affections of the governed. While these remain, the government is strong and efficient for good; when they are gone, it is impotent for good, and exists only for evil. As long as the purposes and compacts of the federal institutions were tolerably observed by the North, that government knit us together with moral bands indeed; yet they were stronger than hooks of steel. The North has severed them by aggression, and they cannot be cemented by blood.

Why, then, shall war be urged on? No man is blind enough to believe that it can reconstruct the Federal Union on equitable terms. It is waged for revenge, for the gratification of sectional hate, to solace mortified pride, to satiate the lust of conquest. From these fiendish passions let every good man withdraw his countenance. It is a war which the Constitution confers no power to wage, even were the secession of the South for no sufficient cause. The debates of the fathers who framed it show that this power was expressly

withheld—even the Federalist, Hamilton, concurring strenuously. This war has no justification in righteousness, in any reasonable hope of good results, in constitutional law. It is the pure impulse of bad passions. Will the good men of the North concur in it?

I desire through you, my dear brother, to lay down this last protest on that altar where the peace of the land is so soon to be sacrificed. I claim to be heard. If the reign of terror exercised by the mobs of your cities has indeed made it dangerous for you to lay before your fellow-Christians the deprecatory cry of one who, like me, has labored only for peace, then tell those mobs that not you, but I, am responsible for whatever in these lines is obnoxious to their malignant minds, and bid them seek their revenge of me (not of you) at that frontier where we shall meet them, the northernmost verge of the sacred soil of Virginia. And if you find that the voice of justice and reason is no longer permitted to be heard in the North, that the friends of the Constitution cannot lift their hands there with safety in its defence, then we invite you, and all true men, to come to this sunny land, and help us here to construct and defend another temple, where constitutional liberty may abide secure and untarnished. For you we have open arms and warm hearts; for our enemies, resistance to the death.

Yours in the bonds of the gospel,

R. L. DABNEY.

THE MORTAL WOUNDING OF GENERAL JACKSON

From 'Life of Lieutenant-general Jackson'

HE (General Jackson) had now advanced a hundred yards beyond his line of battle, evidently supposing that, in accordance with his constant orders, a line of skirmishers had been sent to the front, immediately upon the recent cessation of the advance. He probably intended to proceed to the place where he supposed this line crossed the turnpike, to ascertain from them what they could learn concerning the enemy. He was attended only by a half dozen mounted orderlies, his signal officer, Captain Wilbourne, with one of

his men, and his aide, Lieutenant Morrison, who had just returned to him. General A. P. Hill, with his staff, also proceeded immediately after him, to the front of the line, accompanied by Captain Boswell of the Engineers, whom General Jackson had just detached to assist him. After the General and his escort had proceeded down the road a hundred yards, they were surprised by a volley of musketry from the right, which spread toward their front, until the bullets began to whistle among them, and struck several horses. This was, in fact, the advance of the Federal line assailing the barricade, which they were attempting to regain. General Jackson was now aware of their proximity, and perceived that there was no picket or skirmisher between him and his enemies. He therefore, turned to ride hurriedly back to his own troops; and, to avoid the fire, which was, thus far, limited to the south side of the road, he turned into the woods upon the north side. It so happened that General Hill, with his escort, had been directed by the same motive almost to the same spot. As the party approached within twenty paces of the Confederate troops, these, evidently mistaking them for cavalry, stooped and delivered a heavy fire. So sudden and stunning was this volley, and so near at hand, that every horse which was not shot down recoiled from it in panic and tried to rush back, bearing his rider toward the approaching enemy. Several fell dead upon the spot, among them the amiable and courageous Boswell; and more were wounded. Among the latter was General Jackson. His right hand was penetrated by a ball, his left forearm lacerated by another, and the same limb broken a little below the shoulder by a third, which not only crushed the bone but severed the main artery. His horse also dashed, panic-stricken, toward the enemy, carrying him beneath the boughs of a tree which inflicted severe blows, lacerated his face, and almost dragged him from the saddle. His bridle hand was now powerless, but seizing the reins with the right hand, notwithstanding its wound, he arrested his career and brought the animal back toward his own lines. He was followed by his faithful attendant, Captain Wilbourne, and his assistant, Wynn, who overtook him as he paused again in the turnpike, near the spot where he had received the fatal shots. The firing of the Confederates had

now been arrested by the officers; but the wounded and frantic horses were rushing without riders through the woods, and the ground was strewn with the dead and dying. Here General Jackson drew up his horse and sat for an instant gazing at his own men, as if in astonishment at their mistake, and in doubt whether he should again venture to approach them. To the anxious inquiries of Captain Wilbourne, he replied that he believed his arm was broken; and requested him to assist him from his horse, and examine whether the wounds were bleeding dangerously. But before he could dismount he sunk fainting into their arms, so completely prostrate that they were compelled to disengage his feet from the stirrups. They now bore him aside a few yards into the woods north of the turnpike, to shield him from the expected advance of the Federalists; and while Wynn was sent for an ambulance and surgeon, Wilbourne proceeded, supporting his head upon his bosom, to strip his mangled arm, and to bind up his wound. The warm blood was flowing in a stream down his wrist; his clothing impeded all access to its source, and nothing was at hand more efficient than a pen-knife to remove the obstructions. But at this terrible moment he saw General Hill, with the remnant of his staff, approaching; and called to him for assistance. He, with his volunteer aide, Major Leigh, dismounted, and taking the body of the General into his arms, succeeded in reaching the wound, and stanching the blood with a handkerchief. The swelling of the lacerated flesh had already performed this office in part. His two aides, Lieutenants Smith and Morrison, arrived at this moment, the former having been left at the rear to execute some orders, and the latter having just saved himself, at the expense of a stunning fall, by leaping from his horse, as he was carrying him, in uncontrollable fright, into the enemy's ranks. Morrison, the General's brother by marriage, was agitated by grief; but Smith was full at once of tenderness, and of that clear self-possession, which is so valuable in the hour of danger. With the skilful direction of General Hill, they now effectually arrested the hemorrhage, and adjusted a sling to support the mangled arm.

It was at this moment that two Federal skirmishers ap-

proached within a few feet of the spot where he lay, with their muskets cocked. They little knew what a prize was in their grasp; and when, at the command of General Hill, two orderlies arose from the kneeling group, and demanded their surrender, they seemed amazed at their nearness to their enemies, and yielded their arms without resistance. Lieutenant Morrison, suspecting from their approach that the Federalists must be near at hand, stepped out into the road to examine; and by the light of the moon saw a field-piece pointed toward him, apparently not more than a hundred yards distant. Indeed it was so near that the orders given by the officers to the cannoneers could be distinctly heard. Returning hurriedly, he announced that the enemy were planting artillery in the road, and that the General must be immediately removed. General Hill now remounted and hurried back to make dispositions to meet this attack. In the combat which ensued he was himself wounded a few moments after, and compelled to leave the field. No ambulance or litter was yet at hand, although Captain Wilbourne had also been sent to seek them; and the necessity of an immediate removal suggested that they should bear the General away in their arms. To this he replied, that if they would assist him to rise, he could walk to the rear; and he was accordingly raised to his feet, and leaning upon the shoulders of Major Leigh and Lieutenant Smith, went slowly out into the highway, and toward his troops. The party was now met by a litter, which some one had sent from the rear; and the General was placed upon it, and borne along by two soldiers, and Lieutenants Smith and Morrison. As they were placing him upon it, the enemy fired a volley of canister-shot up the road, which passed over their heads. But they had proceeded only a few steps before the discharge was repeated, with a more accurate aim. One of the soldiers bearing the litter was struck down, severely wounded; and had not Major Leigh, who was walking beside it, broken his fall, the General would have been precipitated to the ground. He was placed again upon the earth; and the causeway was now swept by a hurricane of projectiles of every species, before which it seemed that no living thing could survive. The bearers of the litter, and all the attendants, excepting

Major Leigh and the General's two aides, left him, and fled into the woods on either hand, to escape the fatal tempest, while the sufferer lay along the road, with his feet toward the foe, exposed to all its fury. It was now that his three faithful attendants displayed a heroic fidelity, which deserves to go down with the immortal name of Jackson to future ages. Disdaining to save their lives by deserting their chief, they lay down beside him in the causeway, and sought to protect him as far as possible with their bodies. On one side was Major Leigh, and on the other Lieutenant Smith. Again and again was the earth around them torn with volleys of canister, while shells and minie balls flew hissing over them, and the stroke of the iron hail raised sparkling flashes from the flinty gravel of the roadway. General Jackson struggled violently to rise, as though to endeavor to leave the road; but Smith threw his arm over him, and with friendly force held him to the earth, saying: "Sir, you must lie still; it will cost you your life if you rise." He speedily acquiesced and lay quiet; but none of the four hoped to escape alive. Yet, almost by miracle, they were unharmed; and, after a few moments, the Federalists, having cleared the road of all except this little party, ceased to fire along it, and directed their aim to another quarter.

They now arose, and resumed their retreat, the General leaning upon his friends, and proceeding along the gutter at the margin of the highway; in order to avoid the troops who were again hurrying to the front. Perceiving that he was recognized by some of them, they diverged still farther into the edge of the thicket. It was here that General Pender of North Carolina, who had succeeded to the command of Hill's division upon the wounding of that officer, recognized General Jackson, and, after expressing his hearty sympathy for his sufferings, added, "My men are thrown into such confusion by this fire, that I fear I shall not be able to hold my ground." Almost fainting with anguish and loss of blood, he still replied, in a voice feeble but full of his old determination and authority, "General Pender, you *must* keep your men together, and hold your ground." This was the last military order ever given by Jackson! How fit was the termination for such a career as his, and how expressive of the resolute

purpose of his soul! His bleeding country could do nothing better than to adopt this as her *motto* in her hour of trial, inscribe it on all her banners, and make it the rallying cry of all her armies.

General Jackson now complained of faintness, and was again placed upon the litter; and, after some difficulty, men were obtained to bear him. To avoid the enemy's fire, which was again sweeping the road, they made their way through the tangled brushwood, almost tearing his clothing from him, and lacerating his face, in their hurried progress. The foot of one of the men bearing his head was here entangled in a vine, and he fell prostrate. The General was thus thrown heavily to the ground upon his wounded side, inflicting painful bruises on his body, and intolerable agony on his mangled arm, and renewing the flow of blood from it. As they lifted him up, he uttered one piteous groan—the only complaint which escaped his lips during the whole scene. Lieutenant Smith raised his head upon his bosom, almost fearing to see him expiring in his arms, and asked, "General, are you much hurt?" He replied, "No, Mr. Smith; don't trouble yourself about me." He was then replaced a second time upon the litter, and under a continuous shower of shells and cannon-balls, borne a half mile farther to the rear, when an ambulance was found, containing his chief of artillery, Colonel Crutchfield, who was also wounded. In this he was placed, and hurried towards the field hospital near Wilderness Run. As the vehicle passed the house of Melzi Chancellor, Dr. McGuire met the party. Colonel Pendleton, the faithful adjutant of General Jackson, upon ascertaining the misfortune of his chief, had taken upon himself the task of seeking him, and bringing him to the General's aid. Indeed, one of the first requests made by the latter was to ask for this well-tried friend; and he was, therefore, summoned from the rear, where he was busily engaged organizing the relief for the numerous wounded from the battle. Upon meeting the sad cavalcade, Dr. McGuire obtained a candle, and sprung into the ambulance to examine the wound. He found the General almost pulseless, but the hemorrhage had again ceased. Some alcoholic stimulant had been anxiously sought for him, but hitherto only a few drops could be obtained. Now,

through the activity of the Rev. Mr. Vass, a chaplain in the Stonewall Brigade, a sufficient quantity of spirits was found, and the patient freely stimulated. They then resumed their way to the field hospital near Wilderness Run, Dr. McGuire supporting the General as he sat beside him in the carriage. To his anxious inquiries he replied that he was now somewhat revived, but that several times he felt as though he were about to die. This he said in a tone of perfect calmness. It was, doubtless, the literal truth, and during the removal he was indeed vibrating upon the very turn between life and death. The artery of his left arm was severed; and, in consequence of the inexperience and distress of his affectionate assistants, and yet more of the horrible confusion of the battle, he had nearly bled to death before his wound was stanchd. Arriving at the hospital, he was tenderly removed to a tent which had been erected for him; where he was laid in a camp bed, and covered with blankets, in an atmosphere carefully warmed. Here he speedily sank into a deep sleep, which showed the thorough prostration of his energies.

The melancholy scene which has now been simply and exactly described, occupied but a few minutes; for the events followed each other with stunning rapidity. The report of the discovery of the deserted barricade by Colonel Cobb, the order to General Rhodes to occupy it, the attempt to restore the order to his line of battle, the advance of the General and his escort down the road, his collision with the advancing enemy, his hurried retreat, and the fatal fire of his own men, all followed each other almost as rapidly as they are here recited. While he lay upon the ground, assisted at first only by Captain Wilbourne and his man, and afterwards by General A. P. Hill and the officers of the two escorts, the battle was again joined between Hooker and the Confederates; and it was just as the difficult removal of the General was made, that it raged through its short but furious course. General Hill had scarcely flown to assume the command of his line, in order to resist the onset, and protect General Jackson from capture, when he was himself struck down with a violent contusion, and compelled to leave the field, surrendering the direction of affairs to Brigadier-generals Rhodes and Pender. Colonel Crutchfield, chief-of-artil-

lery, and his assistant, Major Rogers, attempting to make an effective reply to the cannonade which swept the great road, were both severely wounded. In the darkness and confusion, the Federalists regained their barricade, and pushed back the right of the Confederates a short distance; but here their successes ended; and the brigades of Hill stubbornly held their ground in the thickets near the turnpike. The fire now gradually died away into a fitful skirmish, which was continued at intervals all night, without result on either side.

While General Jackson lay bleeding upon the ground, he displayed several traits very characteristic of his nature. Amidst all his sufferings, he was absolutely uncomplaining; save when his agonizing fall wrung a groan from his breast. It was only in answer to the question of his friends, that he said, "I believe my arm is broken," and, "It gives me severe pain;" but this was uttered in a tone perfectly calm and self-possessed. When he was asked whether he was hurt elsewhere, he replied; "Yes, in the right hand." (He seemed to be unconscious that the other forearm was shattered by a third ball: nor did the surgeons themselves advert to it, until they examined it in preparing for the amputation.) When he was asked whether his right hand should not also be bound up, he replied: "No, never mind; it is a trifle." Yet two of the bones were broken, and the palm was almost perforated by the bullet! To the many exclamations touching the source of his misfortune, he answered decisively, but without a shade of passion: "All my wounds were undoubtedly from my own men;" and added that they were exactly simultaneous. When he was informed, in answer to his first demand for the assistance of Dr. McGuire, that that officer must be now engaged in his onerous duties far to the rear, and could not be immediately brought to him, he said to Captain Wilbourne, "Then I wish you to get me a skilful surgeon." On the arrival of General Hill, the anxious inquiry was made of him, where a surgeon could be most quickly found. He stated that Dr. Barr, an assistant surgeon in one of the regiments of Pender, which had just come to the front, was near at hand; and this gentleman being called, promptly answered. General Jackson now repeated in a whisper, to General Hill, the question: "Is he a skilful

surgeon?" He answered in substance, that he stood high in his brigade; and that at most, he did not propose to have him do anything until Dr. McGuire arrived, save the necessary precautionary acts. To this General Jackson replied: "Very good;" and Dr. Barr speedily procured a tourniquet to apply above the wound; but finding the blood no longer flowing, postponed its application. When General Jackson's field-glass and haversack were removed, they were preserved by Captain Wilbourne. The latter was found to contain no refreshments: its only contents were a few official papers, and two gospel-tracts. No sooner had friends began to gather around him, than numerous suggestions were made concerning the importance of concealing his fall from his troops. While he was lying upon General Hill's breast, that officer commanded that no one should tell the men he was wounded. General Jackson opened his eyes, and looking fixedly upon his aides, Smith and Morrison, said, "Tell them simply that you have a wounded Confederate officer." He recognized, on the one hand, the importance of concealment; but on the other hand, he was anxious that the truth should not be violated in any degree, upon his account. With these exceptions, he lay silent and passive in the arms of his friends; his soul doubtless occupied with silent prayer. As he was led past the column of Pender, the unusual attention paid him excited the lively curiosity of the men. Many asked: "Whom have you there?" and some made vigorous exertions to gain a view of his face. Notwithstanding the efforts of Captain Wilbourne to shield him from their view, one or two recognized him; and exclaimed, their faces blanched with horror and grief: "Great God! it is General Jackson." Thus the news of the catastrophe rapidly spread along the lines; but the men believed that his wounds were slight: and their sorrow only made them more determined.

About midnight, Dr. McGuire summoned as assistants, Drs. Coleman, Black, and Walls, and watched the pulse of the General for such evidences of the reaction of his exhausted powers, as would permit a more thorough dealing with his wound. Perceiving that the animal heat had returned, and the pulsations had resumed their volume, they aroused him; and on examining the whole extent of his in-

juries, were convinced beyond all doubt, that his left arm should be immediately removed. Dr. McGuire now explained to him that it seemed necessary to amputate his arm; and inquired whether he was willing that it should be done immediately. He replied, without tremor: "Dr. McGuire, do for me what you think best; I am resigned to whatever is necessary." Preparations were then made for the work. Chloroform was administered by Dr. Coleman; Dr. McGuire with a steady and deliberate hand, severed the mangled limb from the shoulder; Dr. Walls secured the arteries, and Dr. Black watched the pulse; while Lieutenant Smith stood by, holding the lights. The General seemed insensible to pain, although he spoke once or twice, as though conscious, saying with a placid and dreamy voice: "Dr. McGuire, I am lying very comfortably." The ball was also extracted from his right hand, and the wound was dressed. The surgeons then directed Smith to watch beside him the remainder of the night; and after an interval of half an hour, to arouse him, in order that he might drink a cup of coffee. During this interval, he lay perfectly quiet, as though sleeping; but when he was called, awoke promptly, and in full possession of his faculties. He received the coffee, drank it with appetite, and remarked that it was very good and refreshing. This was, indeed, the first nourishment which he had taken since Friday evening. He now looked at the stump of his arm; and comprehending its loss fully, asked Mr. Smith: "Were you here?" (meaning when the operation was performed.) He then, after a moment's silence, inquired whether he had said anything when under the power of the chloroform; and continued, after being satisfied on this point, in substance thus: "I have always thought it wrong to administer chloroform, in cases where there is a probability of immediate death. But it was, I think, the most delightful physical sensation I ever enjoyed. I had enough consciousness to know what was doing; and at one time thought I heard the most delightful music that ever greeted my ears. I believe it was the sawing of the bone. But I should dislike above all things, to enter eternity in such a condition." His meaning evidently was, that he would not wish to be ushered into that spiritual existence, from the midst of sensations so thoroughly physical and

illusory. He afterwards exclaimed to other friends; "What an inestimable blessing is chloroform to the sufferer!" His condition now appeared to be every way hopeful; and Mr. Smith exhorted him to postpone conversation, and to resign himself to sleep. He acquiesced in this, and being well wrapped up, soon fell in a quiet slumber, which continued until nine o'clock in the Sabbath morning.

* * * * *

On Saturday morning, while he was suffering cruelly from fever and restlessness, and tossing about upon his bed, Mrs. Jackson proposed to read him some psalms from the Old Testament, hoping their sublime consolations would soothe his pains. He at first replied that he was suffering too much to attend, but soon after added, "Yes, we must never refuse that; get the Bible and read them." In the afternoon he requested that he might see his chaplain. He was then so ill, and his respiration so difficult, that it was thought all conversation would be injurious, and they attempted to dissuade him. But he continued to ask so repeatedly and eagerly, that it was judged better to yield. When Mr. Lacy entered, he inquired whether he was endeavoring to further those views of Sabbath observance of which he had spoken to him. On his assuring him that he was, he entered at some length into conversation with him upon that subject. Thus, his last care and labor for the Church of God was an effort to secure the sanctification of His holy day. As the evening wore away, his sufferings increased, and he requested Mrs. Jackson to sing some psalms, with the assistance of his friends around his bed, selecting the most spiritual pieces they could. She, with her brother, then sung several favorite pieces, concluding, at his request, with the 51st Psalm,* sung to the "Old Hundredth." The night was spent by him in feverish tossings, and without quiet sleep. During all its weary hours, the attendants sat by his side, sponging his brow with cool water, the only palliative of his pain which seemed to avail. Whenever they paused, he looked up, and by some gesture or sign, begged them to continue.

Thus the morning of Sabbath, the tenth of May, was ushered in, a holy day which he was destined to begin on

* "Show pity, Lord, O Lord forgive."

earth, and to end in heaven. He had often said that he desired to die upon the Sabbath; and this wish was now about to be fulfilled. His end was evidently so near that Dr. Morrison felt it was due to Mrs. Jackson to inform her plainly of his condition. She remembered that he had often said, when speaking of death, that although he was willing to die at any time, if it was the will of God, he should greatly desire to have a few hours' notice of the approach of his last struggle. She therefore declared that he must be distinctly informed of his nearness to death; and agonizing as was the task, she would herself assume the duty of breaking the solemn news to him. He was now lying quiet, and apparently oppressed by the *incubus* of his deep prostration. She went to his bedside and aroused him, when he immediately recognized her, although he did not appear at first to apprehend distinctly the tenor of her announcement. The progress of the disease had now nearly robbed him of the power of speech. She repeated several times: "Do you know the doctors say, you must very soon be in heaven? Do you not feel willing to acquiesce in God's allotment, if he wills you to go to-day?" He looked her full in the face, and said, with difficulty: "I prefer it." Then, as though fearing that the intelligence of his answer might not be fully appreciated, he said again, "*I prefer it.*" She said: "Well, before this day closes, you will be with the blessed Saviour in His glory." He replied with great distinctness and deliberation: "I will be an infinite gainer to be translated."

He had before requested that the chaplain should preach, as usual, at his headquarters, but he now seemed to be oblivious of the fact. When Colonel Pendleton, his adjutant, entered the room, he greeted him with his unfailing courtesy; and then asked, who was preaching at headquarters. When he was told that the chaplain was gone to do it, he expressed much satisfaction. Mrs. Jackson now determined to employ the fleeting moments, to learn his last wishes; first asking for one final assurance more, that his Saviour was present with him in his extremity. To this he only answered with a distinct "Yes." His wife asked him whether it was his will that she and his daughter should reside with her father, Dr. Morrison. He answered "Yes, you have a kind father;

but no one is so kind and good as your Heavenly Father." She then inquired where he preferred that his body should be buried. To this he made no reply. When she suggested Lexington, he assented, saying: "Yes, in Lexington;" but his tone expressed rather acquiescence than lively interest. His infant was now brought to receive his last embrace; and as soon as she appeared in the doorway, which he was watching with his eyes, his face was lit up with a beaming smile, as he motioned her toward him, saying fondly: "Little darling!" She was seated on the bed by his side, and he embraced her, and endeavored to caress her with his poor, lacerated hands—while she smiled upon him with infinite delight. Thus he continued to toy with her, until the near approach of death unnerved his arm, and unconsciousness settled down upon him.

In his restless sleep, he seemed attempting to speak; and at length said audibly: "Let us pass over the river, and rest under the shade of the trees." These were the last words uttered. Was his soul wandering back in dreams to the river of his beloved valley, the Shenandoah (the "river of sparkling waters"), whose verdant meads and groves he had redeemed from the invader, and across whose floods he had so often won his passage through the toils of battle? Or was he reaching forward across the River of Death, to the golden streets of the Celestial City, and the trees whose leaves are for the healing of the nations? It was to these that God was bringing him, through his last battle and victory; and under their shade he walks, with the blessed company of the redeemed.

His attendants, now believing that consciousness had finally departed, ceased to restrain his wife; and she was permitted to abandon herself to all the desolation of her grief. But they were mistaken. Bowing over him, her eyes raining tears upon his dying face, and covering it with kisses, she cried: "Oh, doctor; cannot you do something more?" That voice had power to recall him once more, for a moment, from the very threshold of heaven's gate; he opened his eyes fully, and gazing upward at her face, with a long look of full intelligence and love, closed them again forever. His breath then, after a few more inspirations, ceased; and his laboring breast was stilled. And thus died the hero of so many battles,

who had so often confronted death when clothed with his gloomiest terrors; with his last earthly look fixed upon the face which was dearer to him than all else, except that Saviour, whom he was next to behold in glory.

ON STYLE

From 'Lectures on Sacred Rhetoric.' Copyright by Presbyterian Committee of Publication, Richmond. By permission of the publishers.

THE first requisite for good writing or speaking is good thinking. Clear, discriminating and careful thought must precede the attempt to compose. Let the matter to be expressed exist distinctly in the mind, and it will clothe itself in its most appropriate verbal dress, provided the speaker's taste and memory have been trained by the reading of good models and by exercise. I would recommend, then, that after satisfying yourself of the ideas which you desire to express, you shall suffer them to utter themselves, as nearly as may be. In the act of composition, let not your minds concern themselves chiefly about the verbal dress of the thought, but about the thought itself. The clear and just conception will not fail to clothe itself in lucid words. Language is only a *medium* for the transmission of ideas. The glass which is most transparent is the best. It is only when we look through it without perceiving it, as though the aperture were vacant, illuminated space, when the light passes through it without colour or refraction, when we are obliged to resort to tactual sensation to verify its presence, that we call the window-pane a perfect *medium*. So that style is best, which least attracts the hearer's attention from the thought itself. If there were a perfect orator, men would come away from his discourse without having any conscious recollection concerning the qualities of his style; they would seem to themselves to have been witnessing, by a direct spiritual intuition, the working of a great mind and heart. It follows also that, in the act of composition, the pen should be allowed to move as rapidly as the mind craves. I do not assert that only rapid composition can be nervous; for the speed which is natural to one mind is very different from that of others. What I would urge is, that you should not halt in the career of thought

to debate the propriety of a term or a construction, to cast about for words or tropes, to scan the effect of the phrase which suggests itself. Correctness or elegance thus acquired would be won at too heavy a cost. The ardour of the mind would be effectually chilled by so many harassing cares; the inspiration, the *afflatus* of enthusiasm generated by the heat of the soul's action expands and exalts all its powers. Give way, then, to the propitious gale when it begins to breathe, and be assured that the language will be as happy, in which your mind will clothe its teeming ideas at such an hour, as its thoughts will be fruitful and nervous. If your investigation and meditation have been thorough and your training in composition diligent, write as rapidly as the impulse prompts. Do you suspect that a loose construction or inelegant word has dropped from your pen? Do not regard it then, but sweep onward with the gale: the time for correction comes afterwards.

This remark suggests the great importance of revision. When the writing is completed, it should be subjected to the most searching and laborious examination. This work is irksome, because the *afflatus* is now gone and the charm of novelty is no longer felt. But he who would become a correct and elegant writer or speaker must bend himself with determination to the repulsive task. Every thought should again be considered. Every clause should be scanned. The style should be dissected, first, with reference to grammatical purity and perspicuity, then with an eye to elegance, energy and rhythm. In one place, you will detect a faulty construction. Correct it. In another you will find a pronoun with an ambiguous reference. Make it as lucid as the sunbeam. There you will find a harsh word. Replace it by a euphonious synonym. You will perceive that a given sentence has its meaning suspended or unnecessarily inverted. Reverse the statement, and make the expression of the thought direct. Another sentence will be seen to contain two elements of thought really independent. Divide it. Here is a trope or illustration which suggests an association out of harmony with your subject. Suppress it. There is a redundant epithet, a pleonasm, or repetition. Erase it. Here a mixed or broken metaphor has intruded itself. Let it be moulded into harmony.

There a figure or an illustration suggests itself as truly apt. Insert it.

Remember that the object of this painful revision is not mainly nor chiefly the perfecting of the composition in hand; your aim is to acquire thereby a ready accuracy in the employment of language for all future compositions. The work is, in this aspect, a species of literary *post mortem* autopsy. When the physician dissects the corpse of his deceased patient, in order to verify or correct his diagnosis and to test the manner in which the remedies have operated, he does not propose any benefit to the subject. For him means are too late; he is dead. But the practitioner seeks thereby to prepare himself for treating more successfully many future patients. Such will be your chief aim in the dissection of what you have composed. You will acquire, for subsequent efforts, mastery over the elements of a good style. It may have seemed to you that I imposed on you contradictory obligations. On the one hand, I told you that a perfect style was the result of attention to many varied and delicate points, affecting not only every thought, but every word. On the other hand, I forbade you to pause over these *minutiae* in writing. The reconciliation is found in this labour of revision. By it the powers will be so disciplined that art will become easy, and accuracy and elegance will become natural to you. The mind will be drilled to the habit of right expression. Just in proportion as its exaltation and fire increase, will the nicest refinements of true style suggest themselves spontaneously. A pure style will become the easiest and most native dress of vigorous thought.

Nothing has caused more embarrassment to young speakers than the unfortunate notion that public speaking must be generically different from talking. Many have been the pupils of the rhetorical art, who have experienced the fate of *M. Jourdain* in Molière's "*Bourgeois Gentilhomme*." He had been speaking prose from his childhood without effort, and without knowing prose from verse. After his learned master had taught him technically, he could only speak it ill and with labour. So men do not know that speaking is but talking; they could do the latter very well and naturally until they attempted to do it by artificial rule. Now one experiences

no difficulty in stating or narrating, after his own customary way, what he thoroughly comprehends. Why should rhetorical discourse be less easy, except as the embarrassment of publicity agitates the powers at the outset? It is because of the perverse idea which is adopted, that when one speaks he must need employ a contracted phraseology, a different structure for his sentences, an opposite turn of expression, to all which he is unaccustomed. I affirm that speaking is but serious, earnest, correct and elevated talking. The facile, direct, unpretending structure of sentences which we employ in our conversation is the proper one for the oration. The thing which we have to do is not to cast this, our wonted method, away, and attempt one perfectly antipodal and unwonted, but to purify and ennoble that which is natural to us. You are embarrassed in your rhetorical style, because you are David in King Saul's armour. The free and graceful limbs of the mountain boy are unaccustomed to move in greaves. Take, then, your own crook and your sling and smooth stones out of the brook. You will not advance to the combat slouched, nor halting, nor with clownish antics, for the scene and occasion are august, but you will move with that very freedom which you learned in the fields at home. When one desires to pass from one point to another, what is easier to him than to walk? But if you were mounted upon the *cothurni* of ancient tragedy, you would move awkwardly and would perchance trip yourself and fall ludicrously before the spectators. Strip off your *cothurni*, descend from your stilts, let your mind advance in that mode which nature has taught it, remembering only the decorum and seriousness proper for one who moves to a sacred object, and in the presence of the great King.

Let me not be understood as sanctioning by this precept a style meanly colloquial, familiar or low. The natural style and phraseology must be purged of all looseness of syntax, of all familiar abbreviations and provincialisms, of every groveling allusion. The language of the pulpit should never be undignified, and it is well that it should have in appropriate places elevation, solemnity, grandeur. But these are the opposites of artificial pomp. The noblest passages in the

English classics will be found to be the most simple in structure and the least inflated in expression.*

In style, as in action, the best teachers are good examples. You should, therefore, form yourselves by the study of the great models, both in prose and poetry. There are in our day, so much printing, and so much reading, and so much of that which we read is as mean and crude in style as it is worthless in sentiment, that we are in constant danger of having our taste corrupted by infection. We must dwell much with the great masters, in order that we may inhale with them a more healthy atmosphere. We should read them with the closest attention both to their thought and expression. Our aim should not be servile imitation, but a knowledge of the proper application of the principles of style, and an infusion of their elevated simplicity, warmth and strength.

*See, for example, the speech of Satan in the 'Paradise Lost':

"What though the fields be lost,
All is not lost. The unconquerable will
And study of revenge, immortal hate,
And courage never to submit or yield,
And what is else not to be overcome;
That glory never shall his wrath or might
Extort from me," etc.

See a still nobler instance in Psalm LXXXIX, 7-9.

DANSKE DANDRIDGE

[1864—]

WAITMAN BARBE

MRS. DANDRIDGE'S poetry speaks for itself and for its author with so much delicacy and with such rare distinction that outside comment seems a sort of profanation. To drag a dweller of fairyland out into the light of common day is an ungracious and dangerous thing to undertake. Many readers of her exquisite verses have wondered if, indeed, she were not a brownie or a red-capped kobold or perchance Titania herself singing amidst the rosebrake. But whatever kinship her spirit may claim, in the flesh she lives in a fine old house set among the trees just outside of Shepherdstown, West Virginia, and is the wife of Honorable A. S. Dandridge, one of the prominent citizens of the State.

Danske (Bedinger) Dandridge is the daughter of Honorable Henry Bedinger, at one time United States Minister to Denmark, and was born in Copenhagen in 1864. Her parents died during her childhood, and she was brought up by her maternal grandfather, Honorable John W. Lawrence, of Flushing, Long Island. After her marriage to Mr. Dandridge she came to West Virginia to reside. She has been a contributor of poetry and of articles on flowers and gardening to many of the most important magazines. Her poetry is collected into a volume called 'Joy and Other Poems,' bearing the imprint of G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York.

A glance at the table of contents of this little volume shows where her field of interest lies. Wood demons, dryads, fairy camps and fairy fare, glamour-land and folly-land, dead moons and primroses pale, rainbows and redbirds, and all the ethereal things which delighted the soul of Keats are her daily poetic food, and furnish her a perpetual midsummer-night's dream. And when one turns to the poems themselves he finds that even the poems of love and friendship are expressed in terms of nature. But she is not a nature-poet at all in the sense which that word has carried since the time of Wordsworth; she is the poet, rather, of nature's blossoms and birds and moonlight mysteries. To be the laureate of elfland and of rose-land requires a delicate touch, and hers is both delicate and sure. She is master of her art as well as of her elves, and her verses are, metrically considered, almost faultless. Such

exquisite workmanship is a delight. If a rose is her theme, the poem embodying it is as perfect as the rose. Her song-sparrows and her thrushes never sing out of rhyme.

That she has studied the Elizabethans and Robert Herrick and Shelley and Keats is quite clear; but it is much clearer that the woods and bushes about her home are filled with fairies and fays and folk of the wandering air, that she knows everyone of them by nature and by name, that the young moon tarries in her treetops to tell her what it has seen, and that Titania sits by her side under her favorite oak and tells her what to write. If you doubt it, read "The Wood Demon," "Fairy Fare," "The Fairies' Masquerade," or "The Dead Moon." If you want to know what the birds say and think, she can tell you, for she lives with them and she knows their speech. Read that exquisite thing "The Spirit and the Wood-sparrow," or "The Flicker."

But the book contains some surprises for the reader who is expecting only dainty fairy fare; there are three or four poems of this mortal life so tense in earnestness and so strong in purpose that they call the reader back to them again and again. "Parted," "The Struggle," "To My Comrade Tree," and "Fortitude," are worthy of being bound by themselves. They show what might have been in much larger measure if the fairies had let her alone.

Whatever her theme may be, she illuminates it with imagination and ideality, touches it with a healthy sentiment, and weaves it into rhyme with a fine and subtle art. She finds joy in the things which the dull of spirit do not comprehend, and joy it is to be led by so gracious a hand into the secret places of their mysteries.

Quite apart from the rest, yet noble in its simple dignity, and beautiful in its breath of peace and prayer, is her poem "On the Eve of War," written on Good Friday, 1898. While it is not typical of her poetic expression as a whole, it is characteristic of her artistic work.

Waltman Barber

THE WOOD DEMON

All selections are from 'Joy and Other Poems.' Copyright by Mrs. Dandridge and published by G. P. Putnam's Sons. By permission of the author.

Within this wood there is a sprite:
He blows his horn both noon and night,
He blows his horn both night and day—
But once he blew my soul away.
He has a lyre, he has a lute,
He has a viol and a flute.

There are strange blossoms in the wood:
Their hue is as the hue of blood;
And in what nook those blossoms grow
There is no wight but him doth know.
He finds and plucks them stem by stem,
And wreathes his cap and horn with them;
Then sits and pipes beneath his tree,
Airily, O, airily!

Of all the women of my race
There is no fairer form or face;
None wedded to a braver man
Of all the women of my clan;
Of all the birds that sing and fly
None bore so light a heart as I.
One day I loitered in the glen,
Apart from sight and sound of men:
Afar I heard an elfin horn—
Alas that ever I was born!
I saw, as softly I drew nigh
What ne'er was seen by mortal eye:
I heard, and still, at times I hear,
What ne'er was heard by mortal ear:
But when I saw that blood-red flower
I felt the demon's eerie power,
And when I heard that luring strain
I knew I ne'er might rest again.

Sometimes, when dews of evening fall,
The message of the fairy horn
Upon the singing breeze is borne :
I leave my goodman in the hall,
I leave my home, my children, all,
To follow where it summons me,
Airily, O, airily.

When from the forest I return
My pulses throb, my temples burn.
"O mother dear, your eyes are wild!
You tremble!" cries my fairest child.
"Your face is drawn and pinched and old :
Your head is hot : your hands are cold.
O father, father, much I fear
It is not well with mother dear."

My goodman groans ; he does not speak ;
The piteous tears run down his cheek.
The children cluster round my knee
To hear a slumber song from me.
I rock the youngest on my breast,
And put an arm about the rest :
My fairest daughter stands aloof,
And reads me with her eyes of ruth.
I bring them blossoms from the wood ;
But not the flower whose hue is blood.
I sing them songs of every bird ;
But not a song of all I heard
That mocking pixie pipe to me,
Airily, O, airily.

When all the place is still in sleep,
By turns I laugh, by turns I weep ;
By turns I sing, by turns I pray—
So wears the restless night away.
My step is slow ; my cheek is pale ;
I feel my vital forces fail.
Ere long I know that I shall lie
A captive 'neath a gleaming eye :

And as my breathbeats die away
His wildest weird that sprite will play :
And as I draw my feeblest breath
His sweetest strain will mock at death :
And when, at last, my spirit flies
He will not pause to close mine eyes,
But he will sing my threnody,
Airily, O, airily.

THE FAIRIES' MASQUERADE

Who hath not heard, when life was young,
At nurse's or at grandam's knee,
Enthralling stories said or sung
Of magic realms of faerie?
Of elves that sport beneath the moon,
Around the hazel or the thorn,
While crickets chirp a dancing tune
Till all the East is red with dawn ;
Of how they freak, with tricky plays,
Or slide adown the moony rays ;
Now at their round stone table sit—
A dainty leaf their table-cloth
While firefly waiters round them flit,
They sup their steaming sweet-pea broth.

The meal is heaped upon the board ;
'Tis part the brown bees' cherished hoard ;
A salad of the watercress
Which with wild mustard seed they dress ;
With sour- and pepper-grasses, too.
And oil distilled from meadow rue.
They've butter in a buttercup,
Sippets of pollen dipped in dew ;
Wine in blue bottles bottled up
And cakes of violets dried with care ;
Bread of the flour the mignonette,
Wild strawberries in cordial wet
Of cherry juice, well spiced and rare :
Would I might taste the fairies' fare !

At peep of dawn they'd steal away,
And lurk amid the flowers all day:
But now, alas! throughout the night,
Beside the old witch-hazel tree,
We'd vainly watch till morning light
Nor hint of fairy frolic see.

And are they exiled from the earth?
In some remoteness of the star
Where no intrusive mortals are
They hold fantastic revelry;
With pranks and airy jollity,
With laughter shrill and antic mirth,
They trip around the favored tree:
There summer lasts the whole year long,
And life is like a cheery song.

And do they ne'er revisit the earth,
To view the haunts that gave them birth?
Ah, yes! but not in elfin guise,
But in some garb of insect dressed,
In shape as suits the fancy best,
Of motley moths, or shining flies;
Or some wild creature of the wood
May better please the wayward mood.

Yon bird, scarce bigger than a bee,
That darts about the tulip tree,
A radiant, many-colored thing,
Now poising on its humming wing,
May be a princess in disguise;
Or yonder troop of butterflies
That share with bird and bee, and sup
A draught from every flower cup;
And chase each other wantonly,
With many a freakish pleasantry;
That flutter o'er the clover heads,
And suck the sweets of lily-beds—
May be an errant, elfin band,
Bright mummers out of fairy-land,

To visit each accustomed place
In beechen dell, or bosky glade,
And idle there a little space,
To hold their frolic masquerade;
Then flitting through the pearly sky
Up to their new-found home they fly,
And bid the prosy earth good-bye.

THE DEAD MOON

We are ghost-ridden:
Through the deep night
Wanders a spirit,
Noiseless and white;
Loiters not; lingers not; knoweth not rest;
Ceaselessly haunting the East and the West.

She, whose undoing the ages have wrought,
Moves on to time of God's rhythmical thought.
In the dark swinging sea,

As she speedeth through space,
She reads her pale image:
The wounds are agape on her face.

She sees her grim nakedness
Pierced by the eyes
Of the seraphs of God
In their flight through the skies.
(Her wounds, they are many and hollow.)

The Earth turns and wheels as she flies,
And this spectre, this Ancient, must follow.

When, in the æons,
Had she beginning?
What is her story?
What was her sinning?
Do the ranks of the Holy Ones
Know of her crime?
Does it loom in the mists
Of the birthplace of Time?
The stars, do they speak of her
Under their breath:

"Will this Wraith be forever
Thus restless in death?"

On, through immensity,
Sliding and stealing;

On, through infinity,
Nothing revealing.

I see the fond lovers:

They walk in her light;

They charge the "soft maiden"

To bless their love-plight.

Does she laugh in her place

As she glideth through space?

Does she laugh in her orbit, with never a sound,

That to her, a dead body,

With nothing but rents in her round;

Blighted and marred;

Wrinkled and scarred;

Barren and cold;

Wizened and old—

That to her should be told,

That to her should be sung,

The yearning and burning of them that are young?

Our Earth, that is young,

That is throbbing with life,

Has fiery upheavals,

Has boisterous strife:

But she that is dead has no stir, breathes no air;

She is calm; she is voiceless; in lonely despair.

We dart through the void:

We have cries; we have laughter;

The Phantom that haunts us

Comes silently after.

This Ghost-lady follows,

Though none hear her tread:

On, on we are flying,

Still tracked by our dead;

By this white, awful Mystery,

Haggard and dead.

THE SPIRIT AND THE WOOD-SPARROW

'T was long ago;
The place was very fair;
And from a cloud of snow
A spirit of the air
Dropped to the earth below.
It was a spot by man untrod—
Just where
I think is only known to God.

The spirit for a while,
Because of beauty freshly made,
Could only smile:
Then grew the smiling to a song,
And as he sang he played
Upon a moonbeam-wired cithole,
Shaped like a soul.

There was no ear
Or far or near
Save one small sparrow of the wood
That song to hear.
This, in a bosky tree,
Heard all, and understood
As much as a small sparrow could
By sympathy.

'T was a fair sight—
That morn of spring
When, on the lonely height,
The spirit paused to sing,
Then through the air took flight,
Still lilting on the wing.
And the shy bird,
Who all had heard,
Straightway began
To practise o'er the lovely strain,
Again, again;
Though indistinct and blurred,
He tried each word,

Until he caught the last far sound that fell,
Like the faint tinkle of a fairy bell.
Now when I hear that song,
Which has no earthly tone,
My soul is carried with the strain along
To the everlasting Throne,
To bow in thankfulness and prayer,
And gain fresh love, and faith, and patience there.

THE FLICKER

O the flicker! He is here—
April's hardy pioneer!
Soul of young hilarity!
He's the bird, the bird for me!
With his lisplings infantile;
Many a quirk and roguish wile;
Whims of wooing in his pate,
Toying, coying, with his mate;
And his chucklings, loud and long,
Richer than the richest song.

Through the sober trees he flies,
Proper birds to scandalize.
See him in his shambling flight
On the serious Oak to light;
Pass the laugh and pass the jest:
"Let's be jolly, laughter's cheap!
Oh, the joke's too good to keep!
Tell it, tell it to the rest!"

Careless conqueror of care!
Nature's motley he doth wear.
When I hear his hearty call
To the feast she spreads for all,
To her revels jovial
Forth I hie with right good will,
To sup with her and sup my fill,
Join the merry rollicking
And celebrate the feast of spring.
O the flicker, he is here,
Drunk with new wine of the year.

TO MY COMRADE TREE

"The tree is grown that shall yield to each . . . his 'last narrow house and dark.'"—*County Parson*.

Remote in the woods where the thrushes chant;
Or on some lonely mountain slope;
Or in a copse, the cuckoo's haunt—
With fingers pointing to the cope,
There stands a tree, there stands a tree,
Must fall before they bury me.

O waiting heart, where'er thou art,
At last thy dust with mine shall blend;
For though we spend our days apart,
We come together at the end;
And thou with me, and I with thee,
Must lie in perfect unity.

Within a cramped confine of space,
And owning naught of earth beside,
That heart must be my dwelling-place
For whom the world was not too wide.
A new-time Dryad, mine must be
The shape that shall inhabit thee.

Perchance in some lone wandering
On thine old roots I may have lain,
And heard above the wood-birds sing,
While God looked down upon us twain;
And did I feel no thrill, with thee,
Of fellowship and sympathy?

Is thy strong heart ne'er wearied out
With standing 'neath the overfreight
Of boughs that compass thee about,
With mass of green, or white, a-weight?
O patient tree, O patient tree!
Dost never long for rest, like me?

I know thou spreadest grateful shade
When fierce the noontide sun doth beat;
And birds their nests in thee have made,
And cattle rested at thy feet:
Heaven grant that I make this life of mine
As beautiful and brave as thine!

And when thy circling cloak is doffed,
Thou standest on the storm-swept sod
And liftest thy long arms aloft
In mute appealing to thy God:
Appeal for me, appeal for me,
That I may stand as steadfastly.

Let me fulfil my destiny
And calmly wait for thee, O friend!
For thou must fall, and I must die,
And come together at the end—
To quiet slumbering addressed;
Shut off from storm; shut in for rest.

Thus lying in God's mighty hand
While His great purposes unfold,
We'll feel, as was from Chaos planned,
His breath inform our formless mould;
New shape for thee, new life for me,
For both, a vast eternity.

PARTED

O that I stood in the presence of God;
In the palpable presence of God,
And had voice for one cry!
That my body were dead, and my soul were alive
In the light of that imminent Eye!

"God! give me one boon for my life!
That was patient and long;
For the waiting; the years—oh, the years!
For the hunger and tears;
For the hurt and the wrong:
God! grant me one boon for my life!
Somewhere—oh, Thou knowest the where—
In Thy worlds with their heavens and hells,
In the limitless space of air,
He *is*, and Thou knowest the where!
A boon, oh, a boon! Send me there!

"For I bore it, the worst that was sent;
The pitiless ache of the tears;
The loss, and the fierce discontent
And the horror and fears
Of that silence more hard than a wall!
And the fancies, so maddeningly sweet,
More cruel than all:
By the love that is deathless I call
As I fall at Thy feet."

Would I cry? Would the floods be unsealed
In that Presence, in the sight of the Thrones?
Would I jar the loud joy of the Saints
With my strenuous tones?
Or stand with my hand on my mouth
Unable to praise or to pray:
Just *feeling*, "Thou knowest it all;
What *is* there to say?"

THE STRUGGLE

"Body, I pray you let me go!"
It is a soul that struggles so.
"Body, I see on yonder height
Dim reflex of a solemn light;
A light that shineth from the place
Where Beauty walks with naked face;
It is a light you cannot see—
Lie down, you clod, and set me free.

"Body, I pray you, let me go!"
It is a soul that striveth so.
"Body, I hear dim sounds afar
Dripping from some diviner star;
Dim sounds of holy revelry:
It is my mates that sing, and I
Must drink that song or break my heart—
Body, I pray you let us part.

"Comrade, your frame is worn and frail;
Your vital force begins to fail:
I long for life; but you for rest:
Then, Body, let us both be blest.
When you are lying 'neath the dew
I'll come, sometimes, and sing to you:
But you will feel nor pain nor woe—
Body, I pray you, let me go!"

Thus strove a Being. Beauty-fain,
He broke his bonds and fled amain.
He fled: the Body lay bereft.
But on its lips a smile was left,
As if that spirit, looking back,
Shouted upon his upward track,
With joyous tone and hurried breath,
Some message that could comfort Death.

FORTITUDE

The trees are standing straight and bold :
Stripped for their wrestle with the cold.
The clouds are flying, torn and gray :
The restless birds have flown away.
The storm-swept soul has cast aside
The vestments of her summer pride.
Come ice and snow, come shrieking blast—
The soul, deep-rooted, standeth fast,
And bears, through winter's buffeting,
The secret promise of the spring.

THE WOOD-THRUSH

When to the inmost secret of the wood
I do betake myself, and therein find
A mossy seat, flower-broidered to my mind,
Whereon to muse of little understood
And vexing questions—whether God be good
To send such pain and toil to all mankind ;
Or if the world be ruled by Nature, blind
And deaf and callous to her crying brood—
Sudden the silence breaks into a song
Such as to summer woodlands doth belong,
A song that hath a soul and speaks to mine
In heavenly parlance : by that holy sign
My faith that tottered is made strong and whole :
Nature is God if Nature hath a soul.

FAIRY FARE

Mabel, darling Mabel,
Dancing down the lane;
Flitting, like a butterfly,
Between the drops of rain!
Now the sun out-peeping
Gleams upon her hair,
Glitters in the drops that deck
Her little feet so bare.
Mabel, pretty Mabel,
So gentle and so wild;
She's not like other children,
She's half a fairy child—
Ever watching, listening,
So quick of eye and ear,
As though she saw what none could see,
Heard what none could hear.

In her bed at midnight,
By her sister's side:
"Tell me, Mabel darling,"
So the sister cried,
"Why are you so silent,
Who used to be so bright,
Whispering to yourself all day,
Wakeful half the night?
Tell me, for I love you,
What has changed you so?"
Then the little Mabel
Whispered, shy and low:
"Listen to my secret;
I will tell you, dear,
What no other creature,
None but you, must hear.

"Last midsummer morning,
At the dawn of day,
I rambled through the meadows
For a lonely play.

In the willow copeses
We call the wilderness,
I found—but guess, dear sister—
No, you would never guess!
I found a fairy table,
Round, and draped in white,
Where the fairies left it,
Feasting overnight;
Heaped with tempting viands,
Dainty fruits and wine,
And sparkling crimson goblets,
All wreathed with partridge vine.”

“But oh, my little Mabel!”
The frightened sister spake,
“You did not taste the fairy fare,
Their bread you did not break?”
Alas, the pretty maiden,
She shook her curly head;
To her anxious sister,
Whispering low, she said:
“I sipped a sip of fairy wine,
I tasted fairy bread!

“I ate and drank,” said Mabel,
“And from that happy day
With mortal children, large and rough,
I do not care to play;
But I am ever waiting
The coming of a band
To follow, follow, follow,
Away to fairy-land:
And so I watch and listen
Until the elfins come
To take me for their playmate,
To make with them my home.”

Then up arose the sister,
And to the woods she went;
With the woodland creatures,
A summer day she spent:

Asked the woodland creatures,
"Tell me I implore,
Must my little sister
Live with us no more?"
Asked a squirrel racing
Up a cherry tree,
"Tell me, pretty squirrel,
Tell the truth to me."

But the squirrel chattered,
Frisked and chattered on;
Ate a wild red cherry,
Flung to her a stone;
Then away he frolicked,
With a laugh went he,
Scampered down the cherry,
Up another tree.

Then the sister wandered
Onward, patiently;
Found a big bee buzzing
Round a flowering vine,
Sucking clover blossoms,
Quaffing scented wine;
Asked of him so humbly,
Begged him so to say,
That he hummed around her,
In his clumsy way:
When he found the maiden
Was no monstrous flower,
Off he flew in dudgeon
To his honey-tower.

Many birds and insects
Flitted gayly by,
Pausing not to listen
Nor to make reply:
Till a yellow flicker,
Tapping on a tree,
Paused and listened gravely,
Listened curiously;

Heard the mournful story
That the sister told,
Then, with many an antic,
Pert and overbold,
Answered, while he neatly
Preened his wings of gold:
"The child that feeds on fairy food
Never can grow old!"

"O flicker, pretty flicker,"
She said, with sob and sigh,
"You mean my darling Mabel,
My little pet, will die?"
He spread his wings so lightly,
So lightly flew away;
But the troubled sister
Wept the livelong day:
Until a vesper-sparrow,
Touched by her distress,
Lilted out his lyric,
Full of tenderness,
With a soothing message
Trilled the closing part:
"The child that feasts on fairy fare
Will keep a childlike heart."

OLIVE TILFORD DARGAN

[18 —]

EDWIN WILEY

WITHIN the last few years a group of new writers has arisen whose work presages a new era in our literary history. They have flung aside the lyric of personal satisfaction or unrest; the tale of intricate plot; the character-study of mountain or lowland patois, and are concerning themselves with the fundamental issues of life. Forth from the bitter experiences of the past, and from the stress and complexity of the present, they are distilling the essence of a creative art hitherto unattained by Southern poets and novelists.

Yet the poem and the novel are not perfect vehicles for the expression of dramatic truth, and it is reasonable, therefore, to find the time-spirit seeking its rightful medium—the play. Viewed in this way, the two volumes of plays by Olive Tilford Dargan do not impress one with the immediate wonder of their performance. In the present conditions the appearance of plays by a Southern writer could have been anticipated reasonably, yet who would have dared prophesy that they would be written by a woman, would be great poems as well as dramas, and, above all, be marked by a grasp and a largeness of utterance that render them worthy to be classed with any creations of their type? Barring Elizabeth Barrett Browning, whose plays are theologic dreams rather than dramas, there has been no woman writer whose desire has been so universal or whose achievement so exceptional. Her failures, even, and those are evidenced in no small measure, are victories in comparison with lesser aims, and serve but to point out the splendid promise of the rest.

Mrs. Dargan comes from the purest strain of Southern blood. Her ancestors left Virginia just after the Revolution and joined in that most tremendous enterprise in American history, the settlement of the Valley of the Mississippi. In the wilderness of Kentucky, at the expense of infinite toil and menaced by dangers, they built their homes. To-day their names are a part of Kentucky history. To the student who seeks for the explanation of phenomena in their origins, the temptation to refer certain facts in Mrs. Dargan's career to ancestral sources is too strong to be resisted. It is true that there is a tendency of late to discount the influence of heredity; yet in this, as in many other seemingly inexplicable riddles of personality, it offers the most reasonable key. The hardihood of her

Kentucky ancestors, who dared and toiled for their ideal of freedom and for homes, seems to be repeated again in the struggle of Olive Tilford Dargan for self-expression and her vision of art. One inference may be drawn strongly from the outlines of Mrs. Dargan's life: what she has gained has come through infinite toil and sacrifice. She was not one of those, if such exist, to whom the richness and rewards of life come unsolicited; like many another delicate yet indomitable soul, she wrung them from illness, poverty and unkind conditions.

Olive Tilford was born in Grayson County, Kentucky. Her father, Elisha Francis Tilford, and her mother, Rebecca Day, were married in 1867, she being the second child. Both of her parents were teachers, and left Kentucky when she was ten years old to open a school in Missouri. At the end of three years, for the sake of her mother's health, they moved to Warm Springs, Arkansas, a resort in the Ozark Mountains. Olive Tilford was prepared for college at the age of thirteen, but lack of means forced her to become her father's assistant. At fourteen she began teaching alone, and after four years was in a position to enter Peabody Normal College at Nashville, Tennessee. After graduation she again took up teaching in southwest Missouri, but the climate so affected her health that she was forced to give up the work for a while, and make her home with her aunt, Mrs. Eden Leren Coombs, of Houston, Texas. Although welcomed and happy in these new surroundings, their allurements, and those of social distractions, could not satisfy a nature that must find activity of some sort. She therefore completed a course in a commercial college after which she filled a position in a bank for a brief period. An opportunity, however, came for her to take up her old work of teaching, and for two years she held a position in the schools of San Antonio, Texas. The year following was spent in Cambridge, Massachusetts, where she wisely took special work in English and Philosophy at Radcliffe College. A year or more after leaving Radcliffe, she spent in Canada, teaching part of the time in Wolfville, Nova Scotia. This she gave up to spend a year reading in the Boston libraries, supporting herself the while by stenography.

At this time the success of some articles contributed to periodicals led her to adopt literature as her life-work. True to her temperament, she labored so enthusiastically that she ignored the penalties of unrelieved mental effort, and the result was a serious break-down that forced her to leave work and seek the mountains of northern Georgia, where she hoped to find relief and leisure for literary labor. Here it was that she met Mr. Pegram Dargan, of Darlington, South Carolina, to whom she was married in 1898.

When Mrs. Dargan's 'Semiramis and Other Plays' appeared in 1903 it failed to attract from the reviewers the attention that it richly deserved. Everything, apparently, conspired to give these dramas to silence. The professional critic has, in general, an unconcealed contempt for poetry, unless it be a distillate of vapid sentimentality and sensuousness; and as for closet-dramas, he assumes in advance that they are unworthy, and simply passes them by—unless they bear the name of some famous writer, or the imprint of a publisher who is generous in his advertising. Hence it is only just to presume that 'Semiramis' was unread; indeed, to have ignored the work after careful reading would have been a confession of critical prejudice or inadequacy quite beyond belief.

Yet in spite of the few printed notices it received, the book gained an audience through a medium less perfunctory and far more sincere than that of the professional critic—the word of one person of discernment passed on to another. Appreciation gained in such way is of lasting sort, and it is an especial delight to those who perceived the quality and promise of the first book to witness the unusual distinction granted to the second.

'Semiramis and Other Plays,' Mrs. Dargan's first volume, is a trilogy of poetic dramas, which, while manifestly 'prentice work, nevertheless, barring all their faults of conception and execution, form one of the most remarkable initial efforts of their kind ever written. Their crudities are so far overshadowed by their manifest virtues that to call attention to them would be captious; and again, it must be confessed that the writer has set herself the most difficult task of all literary creation, inasmuch as the poetic drama demands, in addition to its lyric and epic qualities, characterization and development of plot harmonized into a close-textured and convincing whole. These desiderata we can scarcely hope to find in first work, and when Mrs. Dargan's plays are compared with the initial efforts of other writers their remarkable qualities stand revealed.

The first, "Semiramis," is perhaps the most adequate of the three as a play, and with a few modifications would doubtless prove a splendid success were it placed upon the stage. With the instinct of the artist, she has caught the passion and color of antique Assyria and has formed it into a moving pageant, full of power and beauty. Out of the legend of Semiramis, who has come down to us as a mythical figure half goddess and half amazon, Mrs. Dargan develops her heroine, making her twice heroic by laying no stress upon her supernatural birth, and humanizing her so that the reader enters in full sympathy with her struggle for self-realization when the choice is given her between personal attainment and renunciation.

"Carlotta," which concerns itself with the unhappy fate of Maxi-

milian, Emperor of Mexico, follows rather closely the historic events connected with the characters, and in doing so has worked a measure of violence against dramatic unity; for the scene shifts rapidly, and sometimes abruptly, from widely separated places, resulting in a multiplicity of characters whose intrusion not seldom obstructs the movement of the play. Again, it is to be questioned whether the highest dramatic powers could take the characters of Maximilian and Carlotta and, following them literally, render them really tragic. They were the victims rather than the masters of external conditions, and though Carlotta rises at times to a certain tragic height, still we are always aware that being a woman, and denied a man's opportunities for action, she is without the power necessary for solving the problem confronting her. Consciously or unconsciously, Mrs. Dargan seems to have been aware of these facts in writing the play, for the reading of it reveals that she was so much absorbed by the beauty of the setting and so held by the charm of lyric interludes, that as a whole it loses in strength what it gains in poetry.

In "The Poet" Mrs. Dargan attempts a dramatic solution of the mystery of Poe. She is clearly in love with her theme, and her handling of material so refractory is little short of a triumph. The profound duality of Poe's character, his subjection to moods of exaltation and despair, his eternal collision with circumstance and the deficiencies of an unregulated self, she has endeavored to harmonize into a dramatic whole. The psychological portrayal of a man of genius will ever remain the touchstone of creative art. The broad and simple outlines demanded by the characterization of the man essentially of action, prove inadequate in the case of a personality as obscure as that of Poe. Two masters have acknowledged the almost insuperable difficulties of the problem in "Hamlet" and "The Return of the Druses," so rather than question how well "The Poet" is done, we should marvel that it was done at all. Of all the plays in the book it is the most convincing and the most human. The scene in Act IV in which Poe discovers his wife's fatal illness is perhaps the most effective in the volume. With sure touch she reveals the sinister gift of genius which brings forth its beauty out of pain, is cruel to the thing it loves, and cruel most of all to itself.

Whether or not Mrs. Dargan gives a correct interpretation of Poe, she at least gives one that satisfies conditions, and one that justifies those who feel that back of his aloofness from humanity there throbbed a heart that yearned with supreme tenderness for the perfection of love as well as a perfected art—yet was ever destined to have both vanish in the stress of unkind circumstance, or through his own morbid suspicions.

The promise indicated in Mrs. Dargan's first book has been real-

ized in her second. That she has the genuine spirit of the artist is revealed by her endeavor to avoid some of the faults of technique noticeable in the earlier plays, and in addition there is a distinct growth in conceptive power and grasp of dramatic verities. Her unusual versatility is again shown by her choice of themes—the first play, "Lords and Lovers," being drawn from mediæval English history, the second from present-day Russia, and the third, "The Siege," being thoroughly Greek in theme and spirit.

The tendency to hark back to the past is an essential attribute of every poet endowed with an overpowering feeling for beauty. The crassness and nearness of the present either hide or negative its charm, so the subtle spirit finds its freedom in the loveliness of antique dreamlands. In some creative artists this mood is but a passing phase; with others, however, it persists, tending more and more to withdraw them in sympathy from the vital issues of the life around them. That such is not the case with Mrs. Dargan is evidenced by her play of modern Russia, "The Shepherd," which perhaps marks a new epoch in her creative life. The play, unlike her others, save "The Poet," is short, is vital, and is steeped in the spirit of the modern. At last she seems to have escaped the call of ancient things, the influence of Shakespeare and the other Elizabethans, nay, she shows indeed marks of those intense moderns, Ibsen and Sudermann. The poet is submerged in the humanist in its literal sense. Again, there is a larger symbolism and intensity of passion not to be found in her other plays. The character of Adrien Lavrov, the mystic and leader of the Russian peasantry, is perhaps too otherworldly for the task ordained him; yet, despite that, he is portrayed with unusual power and clearness. The symbol of the universal struggle between spirit and flesh, he is nevertheless in no circumstance of the many temptations that assail him, ever the victim of them; he yields all things, ease, fame, art, love, life, and even the cause for which he labors, to the imperative call of duty. The movement as a whole leads to a climax that has, added to its tragic power, that element of reconciliation and peace only to be found in quintessential art.

The background of awful cruelty against which the figures move is perhaps a bit too unrelieved, too dark, it may be, for truth; yet after all it is not improbable, even in this Twentieth Century of enlightenment. There are many noble spirits, Adrians of reality, who, like the pictured shepherd, yearn for the light of some peaceful and beneficent star.

In "Lords and Lovers," Mrs. Dargan reveals most of all her debt to Shakespeare and the Elizabethans, which is a debt the same, although she has borrowed nothing. That they have been deeply

and sincerely read by her this play leaves no doubt. The plot is concerned with early years of the reign of King Henry III, who is introduced as one of the leading characters. The spirit of the mediæval age is admirably caught, and the essential qualities of the mediæval man strongly depicted. The violent contrasts of a formative era, the devotion and exaltation that in its highest mood of chivalry almost realized the dream of an earthly empire of God, yet which in its lowest could attain inconceivable depths of hatred and cruelty. Margaret, the Scottish princess, in her splendid height of love and sacrifice, contrasted with the sensuous and selfish Eleanor, is perhaps the play's best illustration of this antithesis.

The play, though almost too long for stage setting in its present form (which resembles that of Shakespeare's sequel dramas) could be easily cut down to modern requirements, and would make a thrilling and beautiful spectacle. The humor is more spontaneous than in the other plays, and the lack of any unusual lyrics is amply made up for in the almost epic quality of some of the passages. The death of Pembroke, in the first act, is masterly, and the scenes between Hubert and Margaret contain some lines nothing short of Shakespearian.

Her Greek play, "The Siege," while wholly lovely in setting and rich in delicate lyrics, lacks both the largeness of "The Shepherd" and the human qualities of "Lords and Lovers." Lovely beings, lovely even in sin, move against the hills of rose and olive like a band of nymphs and satyrs, wholly lacking the universal point of view, which the artist perhaps denied them in subtle understanding of the essential Greek spirit. Phillistus, the ambitious courtier who murders the father and mother of the woman he loves, is too wholly demoniac to seem real, while Aristocles, the Athenian philosopher, who has only his beauty and his brains to commend him, shows ill beside his friend whom he wrongs in his love for the other's wife. Dion, the husband, brave soldier and ideal patriot, is one of Mrs. Dargan's strongest and most exquisite characters, playing to the Pagan world about him the part which Brutus played through love of Pagan Rome. The climax of his death in which he gives his wife to his friend is the best of the play. The setting is delicate and beautiful, and the lyrics are of exceptional loveliness.

Edwin Wiley.

CARLOTTA

From 'Semiramis and Other Plays.' Copyright by Mrs. O. T. Dargan. By permission of the author.

ACT I. SCENE II.

JUAREZ.—Now monarchy has spread her gilded sails,
And from the East comes like another sun
To blind our eyes with wonder of a crown
While shackling us by hand and foot to earth.
But from these mountains will arise a queen,
The figure grey of ancient Liberty,
Mourning and wronged, but with the unpaling star
Of God's own favor set upon her brow!

These two shall meet—and that mock sun go down!

TREVINO.—You still have hope when Mexico deserts us?

JUA.—Dost read your country in the smile she shows
Her conquerors? She has a heart beneath!
Ay, sir, did she not prove it at Puebla?
Where dead fell on the dead with gun in hand
Still pointed to the French! Where, hope once lost,
And the enemy pouring through the shattered gates,
Our men blew up their city and themselves
To keep their souls free from Napoleon!
These men have brothers left, and sons,
And they are Mexico!

SOLDIERS.—El presidente!
Liberty and Juarez!

A SOLDIER.—(*Waving his sword*) We'll be revenged,
Or spill more blood than hell can drink!

SOLDIERS.—Down with the empire! Death to Maximilian!

JUA.—No, not revenge—but justice. That's enough.
We've but to wait—and strike. Yon mists now spread
Their fair illusion o'er the eternal mountains
'Till't seems they are the world, and the great hills
Are naught. But by to-morrow's noon-sun see
Their fortunes faded as a dream of night,
While the rock peak looks up as if to say,
From the foundation of the world I am!
So will this glamour o'er our godly cause
Pass as a breath, while all the world shall read
Our right and title to unbonded life

In our free bosoms founded and God-set!

A SOLDIER.—We'll die for freedom!

JUA.—Die? That's the one thing
We can not do. We may lie down in graves,
But from our living dust will spring new challenge
To make in noble minds continued war
Until our race be righted!

TREV.—Many fly
From our misfortunes. Amaldo and LeVal—

JUA.—Call't not misfortune that teaches us our friends.
Now are we sifted and the chaff is known!
...LeVal!.....But Diaz is true?

TREV.—On yonder mountain
His fires make answer for him.

JUA.—(*Looking into distance*) Forgive me, comrade!
I know you true, and sooner will yon moon
Make her last change and fall than you change once
From the full circle of a complete man.....
(*Turns and sees Ignacio*) My nephew here?

IGNACIO.— Just from the capital!

JUA.—Where you must back again. Rafael, too!
Both my young soldiers! My right arm and my left—
Though which is which I know not. Ignacio,
You saw the Austrian? No matter. He's but
The drift-piece of a rotten monarchy
That thinks to graft upon the living tree
Of our new-sprung republic! We'll shake him off
As a June oak a spray of winter wreck,
Nor ever know he clung upon our boughs!

IG.—The church is powerful yet, and seeks to join
Her cause with his.

JUA.—The church? Say not the church,
But mockers in Christ's name, who steal the land
And drain its fruitage into Satan's purse,
Keeping the poor a race of hopeless slaves,
Who worship their own shackles! O, Ignorance,
Thou art the great slave-master! Thy very chains
Are vital and beget themselves; and he
Who strikes them seems the monster of the earth
To the poor serf who thinks it is himself

That bleeds! The church be with our foe, with us
 Be God, we'll ask no more. Hear me, my men!
 The great republic of the North's our friend.
 When her own war is done you'll hear her speak
 To France in cannon tones that will make quake
 Napoleon on his throne! That great mock-god,
 Who seeks to free all men that he may fit
 Their necks to his own yoke! (*With growing intensity*)

That adder who
 Would coil about the world! That serpent scruffed
 With white deceit and low ambition's slime,
 That crept into the garden of my dreams
 And cankered bud and root, nursed by my toil,
 Fed with my dearest blood! Ay, he will quake,
 And cry for mercy to a stony Heaven
 Whose pity-drops long since were drained upon
 The woe that he hath made! Ay, he—

TREV.—(*Touching him*) But now,
 My friend?

JUA.—(*Composed*) You're right. No more of that.
 Nephew!

IG.—Here, sir!

JUA.—Your place will be the capital.
 We must have eyes there, and a heart to serve us.
 This hour set out. Here are instructions. (*Gives paper*)

TREV.—Sir,
 He's had no rest.

JUA.—True. true.

IG.—And need none when
 Juarez commands.

JUA.—(*Taking his hand*) Thou'rt still my son. My
 house

Will not fall down when I no longer prop it.

RAFAEL.—May I not beg this office, sir?

TREV.—Send him!

His heart is in the hills, and he'll come back.
 Ignacio's yet unanchored. Trust him not
 To high tides of a court.

JUA.—I trust them both.

But my own blood I know. (*To Ignacio*) Kneel for the oath.

(*Ignacio kneels. Murmurs around, then silence.*)

Juarez takes a crucifix from his bosom and holds it over Ignacio.)

JUA.—By this true image of the bleeding Christ,
May you be damned to everlasting fire
Nor prayers of saints lift up your soul from hell,
If you prove false in what you undertake
This night for Mexico!

IG.—By Christ's own blood,
I swear, and may that blood be powerless
To save me from the damned if I prove false!

JUA.—The stars that hold
The witness angels of the Lord have heard
Thy oath.

IG.—(*Rising and looking up.*) Let them record it.

ASEF.—(*Fearfully*) Ah!

TREV.—(*Holding out a brand*) The brand!

JUA.—Not that!

IG.—(*Baring his arm*) I choose it! (*Trevino quickly brands his arm with a cross. Juarez, too late, dashes the brand from his hand*)

IG.—(*Throwing up his arm*). Sealed to the cause!
(*Hurries to go.*)

JUA.—My boy! (*Ignacio returns for Juarez's embrace*).

IG.—(*Going*) Liberty and Juarez!

SOLDIERS.—Juarez!

Liberty and Juarez!

(*All but Juarez follow Ignatius out, cheering*)

Hurrah! hurrah!

(*Juarez draws his grey mantle about him and stands silent. The fires die down. The moon clouds. He looks up invoking*)

JUA.—Spirit of Montezuma, be thou here
And on thy son drop wisdom out of Heaven,
That these thy children he may lead to peace,
And this thy country give again to him
Who set his iron in the earth and said:
"Man, make thy weapon; there shall be no slaves!"

THE POET

From 'Semiramis and Other Plays.' Copyright by Mrs. O. T. Dargan. By permission of the author.

ACT III. SCENE II.

(Scene II: *Same room as before. Night. Virginia sits motionless in the dim firelight. Mrs. Clemm comes softly downstairs.*)

MRS. C.—Virginia?

VIR.—Naughty mamma! You said you would sleep.
What a story to tell your little girl!

MRS. C. (*Advancing*) The rain—wakes me. (*Comes to fire.*) Did Edgar take his cloak, dear?

VIR.—No, mother.

MRS. C.—Are you not cold in that dress, darling?

VIR.—O no—quite comfortable—and Edgar likes me in white, you know. (*A window rattles. Both look anxiously toward the door.*)

MRS. C.—What a gust!.....I wonder what winter is like at the north. (*Virginia looks at her quickly, and both drop their eyes*)....To think of him out on a night like this! And he has not been well lately. Had he no purpose? Did he say *nothing* when he went out?

VIR.—He said he was going to seek Truth.

MRS. C.—And what does he mean by truth, Virginia?

VIR.—O, I don't know. When he is talking I understand, but when he is gone it all fades and I know nothing about it.

MRS. C.—Nor does Edgar, mark me, dear. He is trying to know things that the wise God decreed should remain unknown to mortals. That is what makes him so unhappy....Did he eat his breakfast this morning, Virginia?

VIR.—No, mamma.

MRS. C.—Did he take any food yesterday?....Tell me daughter. I can not help you if I do not know. (*Virginia begins to sob*). There, there, darling! A little patience and we'll get him over this.

VIR.—O, mother!

MRS. C.—Come here, my little girl. (*Takes Virginia in*

her arms.) Now tell me! Don't let the heart go heavy when mother ears are waiting.

VIR.—He . . . goes . . . out at night . . . and I follow him because it kills me to think of his wandering alone. We were on Burney hill last night.

MRS. C.—Five miles! Then that is what these pale cheeks and dark eyes mean! And Edgar let you go!

VIR.—No! I *go*! I am not a child, mother. Ah, I knew you would not understand!

MRS. C.—Yes, yes, I do, Virginia. I know he suffers, but you—

VIR.—Don't speak of me! You shame me! Were I to lie down on those coals my tortures would be less than his. Remember that, mother. When you doubt, as you surely will, remember that I told you, and I know. His mind is a *living* thing, throbbing through his body and leaving him no shield of flesh. O, mamma, help him! Promise me! You will never forsake him?

MRS. C.—Never, my love.

VIR.—I would not have told you, but my strength is gone, and somebody must know—somebody who is strong. (*A gust shakes the window.*) O, my darling! Out in that blackness alone! And if I were there I could say nothing. That is the pity of it, mamma. I have no words, and thought without tongue is nothing so long as we are mortal and wear these bodies. Some day it may be enough just to *be* a soul, but not now—not now!

MRS. C.—O, my daughter!

VIR.—Promise me, mamma, that if I die you will find Helen. She could help him!

MRS. C.—(*Rising*) Virginia, if you say another word like that I shall think you are mad—or I am! (*Bursts into weeping.*)

VIR.—Darling, darling mother! Now I have given you all my burdens, you will grow weak under them, and I want strength by my side!

MRS. C.—(*Calm*) You must go to bed, dear. I will wait for Edgar.

VIR.—No, no.

MRS. C.—I will coax him to eat something.

VIR.—(*Smiling sadly*) Coax him, mamma?

MRS. C.—Yes, dear. Go now.

VIR.—I can not.

MRS. C.—I command you, my daughter.

VIR.—Please do not command me. You have never had to pardon disobedience in me.

MRS. C.—Nor shall I have cause now. Obey me, Virginia.

VIR.—Would you send me into hell, mother?

MRS. C.—Daughter!

VIR.—That is what a bed is to me when Edgar is out like this.

MRS. C.—You make too much of these wanderings. Night and day are alike to him.

VIR.—Ah, it is not the night that I fear! . . . Go, mamma! It is you who must rest. O, how we need these strong arms—this clear head! I shall nod in my chair, for the thought of you getting your needed rest will bring the winks to my own eyes. Come! (*Draws her toward stairway*.) I promise you that I will sleep in the big chair as snug and tight as kitty herself. (*Kisses her.*)

MRS. C.—(*On the stairs*) I can not leave my sick child to watch. You ask me to do an inhuman thing, Virginia. I will not go.

VIR.—Mother! Do not let me hurt you. . . . the dearest, the most unselfish of mothers. . . . but it is better for me to meet my husband alone.

(*Mrs. Clemm turns and goes slowly upstairs. Virginia goes back to fire.*)

VIR.—Watch and pray! I can but watch and pray! . . . He said 'twas love he wanted. . . . and I brought him that. . . . love that shakes but with the globe itself. But it does not help. . . . 'twas all wrong. . . . all wrong! (*Weeps. Rises, and busies herself about an oven on the hearth.*) Three times I have prepared his supper that it might be fresh enough to tempt him. But now. . . . I am so tired. I must try to keep this warm. The sight of it may make him angry. . . . But I must try. (*Arranges some clothes on a chair.*) He will be so wet with the rain. Ah, I can do nothing. . . . nothing. (*Looks towards the door.*) He is coming. Strength, strength. O my God!

(*Poe throws door open. Turns and speaks as if to companions outside.*)

POE.—Goodnight, goodnight, brave Beauty's fearless angels! (*Comes in.*) Well, Dame Venus, what thoughts for your hobbling Vulcan?

VIR.—(*Brightly*) My Hermes, you mean. I'm sure you're feather-footed, you go so far and fast.

POE.—Why, sweet-mouth, a kiss for that! (*Kisses her.*)

VIR.—O, my love, you are dripping with rain.

POE.—Well, and so are the trees. Not a leaf out there but is shaking her pearls. Who flies from nature but man? Let her be terrible, glorious, worthy of his eyes and his heart, and forthwith he takes to his hole.

VIR.—I hate her to-night. She kept me from following you.

POE.—Virginia. (*Seizes her hands, crushing them in his, and gazing at her with fierce earnestness.*) Never do that again! Never again! (*Lets her hands fall, and turns toward door as if he must go out. Her eyes follow him eagerly, but she tries to speak carelessly.*)

VIR.—Here are your dry things, dear, and I've kept something hot for your supper.

POE.—(*Turning*) Yes....this is a very valuable skin of mine. Make it comfortable. But what of me, Virginia? That something here burning with fire that would brighten Olympos' head! Have you no welcome for me? (*Virginia silent.*) Why are you so pale? Light all the lamps! You should not sit in the dark. There are no stars in this den!

VIR.—(*Hurriedly lighting lamp.*). I'm sorry, love, but last night you wanted the dark—don't you remember?

POE.—No, I don't remember. Memory is a hyena, always scratching up our dead selves! You must not remember, Virginia!

VIR.—Yes, dear.

POE.—Forgive me, love. O, I am driving myself mad! Selling myself to the devil of prose that I may bring in that fool's litter—money, money, money—and for what? That we may feed the flesh that devours our souls, and hang such rubbish as this on our backs! (*Sweeps garments from chair.*) O, Virginia, if you were brave enough we would forget these

rag of the body and go like spirits to meet our brothers of the night! They are all out there! Will you go with me, my bride?

VIR.—O, Edgar!

POE.—Ha! You would rather ask them in to have something dry and something hot! But I must have the air! (*Throws door open. Lightning flashes on falling rain. Virginia shrinks from the wind.*) Hear those winds! Gathering lost souls to the bosom of Night! Feel those drops! Every one of them the tear of a fallen god! O, it is nothing but rain? Ha! ha! ha! (*Virginia coughs. Poe closes the door hastily. She coughs again.*)

POE.—Don't, Virginia!

VIR.—Yes, dear.

POE.—My angel! (*Embraces her. She coughs.*) O, it is these wet clothes! (*Throws off coat, picks up dressing gown from the floor and puts it on hurriedly.*)

VIR.—(*Eagerly*) Your slippers too, dear!

POE.—Yes, yes, my slippers! (*Puts them on. Sits in big chair, taking her on his knee, and embracing her tenderly.*) What made you cough, Virginia?

VIR.—O, 'twas nothing, dear. 'Tis all right now. Everything is all right.

POE.—Is it, little wisdom? O, ye gods!

VIR.—(*Concealing anxiety*) Darling?

POE.—What, my beautiful earth-bird?

VIR.—You will take your supper now?

POE.—(*Impatiently*) No, no! Is there any wine in the house?

VIR.—Yes, love, but—

POE.—I must have it! Quick! I shall faint.

VIR.—(*Rising*) No, Edgar, it is food you need.

POE.—(*Rising*) Where is it?

VIR.—O, my dearest!

POE.—Tell me, Virginia! (*Goes toward a closet.*)

VIR.—(*Getting before him*) If you were reaching for a cup of poison, Edgar, I would risk my life, ay, risk your love, to dash it from you. And wine is your poison. I can not let you drink death.

POE.—Death! It is all the life that is left to me, and you deny it!

VIR.—Be quiet, love. You will wake our mother.

POE.—Down, gods, and let the lady sleep!

VIR.—She is not well, Edgar.

POE.—But she will be well to-morrow, and I—I am immortally sick and you deny me a drop of wine.

VIR.—O, my poor boy! I'm so sorry for you!

POE.—And is that all, O Heaven? I'm her poor boy, and she is so sorry for me! Why, here's a heart that loosens in its throbs the birth-song of new stars! Come strike thy chime with mine, and though all bells upon the planets jingle, in us will still be music!

VIR.—O, Edgar!

POE.—Well?

VIR.—I can not speak.

POE.—Virginia, Virginia! I pour out my soul to you! I keep back no drop of its sea! From the infinite, shrouded sources of life I rush to you in a thousand singing rivers, only to waste, to burn, to die on the sands of silence! (*She remains motionless, her head bowed.*) . . . It is so still upon the eternal peaks. Will you not come up with me and be the bride of my dreams? You need not speak. . . . you need not say a word. Only put the light of poesy in your eyes and let me see that through the channel of their beauty course the mysteries that begin with God and end not with time! (*She looks at him. He gazes into her eyes.*) . . . Tears. . . . only tears. (*Turns away.*) Can a soul's eyes be dumb? (*She sits weeping silently.*) Come then. . . . talk of what you will. Only talk! You have read a little Byron to-day? The new magazine came? And you have made me a handkerchief? (*She sobs. He looks at her remorsefully, crosses the room, gets her harp and brings it to the fireside.*) Come. . . . sing to me, Virginia. You can do that.

VIR.—(*Taking the harp*) What shall I sing, dear?

POE.—Something to charm the very heart of Æolus! That will turn a tempest into a violet's breath!

VIR.—Ah, my love!

POE.—O, sing—sing anything!

VIR.—(*Sings.*)

Great and calm, cool-bosomed blue.
Take me to the heart of you!
Not where thy blue mystery
Sweeps the surface of the sea,
Leaving in a dying gleam
Living trouble of a dream;
Not where loves of heaven lie
Rosy 'gainst the upper sky
Burning with an ardent touch
Where an angel kissed too much;
But where sight and sound come not,
All of life and love forgot,
All of Heaven forfeited
For thy deep Nirvana bed.
Wide and far enfolding blue,
Take me to the heart—

(Her voice breaks suddenly.)

POE.—Virginia! *(She coughs.)* Don't *(Her cough increases. She puts her handkerchief to her lips. Poe takes it from her hand and looks at it.)* Blood! *(Throws handkerchief into the fire, and stands as if paralyzed, gazing at Virginia. Falls at her feet and begins kissing her skirt.)* My angel! my angel! I have killed my little bride!

VIR.—*(Urging him gently up.)* No, dear. I was marked for this from birth. My doom was written by Heaven, not by you.

POE.—Not doomed, my Virginia! *(Rising)* I will save you, my darling! You shall have everything! With the sickle of a wish you shall harvest the earth! We will sail southern seas! We will follow the Spring as she flies! I will knock at the orient gates and bring thee the health of morning! I'll make the world so bright for thee, Hyperion's self shall wear new gold and shame remembered, suns from chronicle! Spring from perfection's heart shall pluck her buds, and set such gloss on Nature she may laud her old self in one violet's requiem! O, I'll sing the world into a flower for thy bosom! My love, my love, my love! *(She coughs restrainedly. He hides his face till she stops.)* Even the senseless oak velvets its rude sides to the tender vine! But I—a man—O, beast too vile for hell! too low to be damned!

VIR.—Edgar!

POE.—Do not touch me! Is not the mark here? (*Touching his brow*) O, where shall I hide it?

VIR.—(*Drawing him to her*) On my bosom, Edgar. (*Presses him to the large chair and sits on the arm of it, caressing him.*) This forehead is as pure as heaven-lit ivory of angels' brows!

POE.—O, golden heart! (*Kisses her over her heart*) I will work so hard, Virginia! We shall be rich, and I will take you to some wonderful land where beauty can not die! Will you forgive me then when you are bright and strong in some happy isle of roses?

VIR.—I will forgive you now, dearest, if you will do one thing for me.

POE.—O, what, my darling?

VIR.—Eat the poor little supper I have cooked for you.

POE.—Yes—yes—I'll eat it though it be hell's coals!

VIR.—Now that's a compliment to your cook, isn't it? (*Takes food from oven and puts it on table. Poe eats, at first reluctantly, then hungrily.*)

POE.—It is late—so late! O, my Lenore, you kept up for me! Your weary eyes would not close until they had found their lover! O, can you forgive me, and take me back to your heart? You will love me again?

VIR.—Ah, Edgar, if love were enough we should always be happy.

POE.—Love me, love me, dear! I want no more! And this cough... we shall stop all that, darling! O, how weary you must be, and you tried to have everything so beautiful for me! How pretty your dress is! You look like a Naiad smiling out of a lily. But it's too cold! Here, I will wrap you! (*Puts a shawl about her.*) Ah, little wife, little wife, what evil power locked your gentle heart with mine? Bear with me, love. It will all be different soon. I shall try so hard the gods for pity will not let me fail! See how I have eaten! You may give me more, love. You did not cook this, I know. You stole it from Jove's kitchen.

VIR.—(*Getting food*) Yes, I did, and Jove caught me, but he let me go when I told him it was for a poet.

POE.—Little witch! (*Kisses her*) How happy we shall

be, Virginia, as soon as I have money. I shall go to New York for a year! It will take only a year. Then I shall come back bringing the lady Fame with me, and you must not be jealous of her.

VIR.—(*Slowly*) You—would not—take me?

POE.—Why, the north wind would blow the Spring from my little girl's cheek! Just a year! That is the first step—a cruel one—but we shall be happy when it is over. Just a year, sweetheart! I must take no chances now! I *must* win!

VIR.—You shall not leave me! A year will not hurt me, Edgar! But it would kill me to be left here—and not know—every minute—

POE.—Do you care so much, Lenore? Then we will both stay here. It will take longer, but I will work harder—

VIR.—Enough for to-night. We are too happy for to-morrows, Edgar. Now, you must have a long, long sleep—

POE.—No, no! No bed for me to-night! I must work!

VIR.—No bed, indeed! I did not say bed, my lord! You are going to sit down here (*Places him on footstool*) and I shall sit here, (*settles in chair*) and your head in my lap—my hands on your head—and the crooningest of little songs will bring you the sweetest snatch of sleep that you ever, ever had!

POE.—O, 'tis heaven, Virginia! But you are too tired, my angel. *You must sleep.*

VIR.—And so I shall when my lord shows me the way. (*Poe drops his head on her lap. She turns down light. He falls asleep as she sings softly.*)

Like a fallen star on the breast of the sea

My lover rests on the heart of me;

The lord of the tempest hies him down

From his billow-crest to his cavern-throne,

And 'tis peace as wide as the eye can see

When my lover rests on the heart of me.

(*Silence. Virginia droops in sleep, No light but dull red coals.*)

SEMIRAMIS

From 'Semiramis and Other Plays.' Copyright by Mrs. O. T. Dargan. By permission of the author.

PART OF ACT IV.

SEM.—Alone—on foot—and through a hostile country!
 I'll overtake thee, Khosrove; ere thou'st reached
 Thy throne among the stars! Thou goest from love,
 And wilt look back and weep from every cloud;
 I on thy track shall pause not till our wings
 Stir the same air and lock in kisses flying!
 . . . So pay my scorn? How then hadst loved if heart
 Had brought to heart its swelling measure? Then
 Our rosy hours had been the pick of time,
 And hung a flower 'mong withered centuries
 When every age had brought its reckoning in!
 O, why will we, some cubits high, pluck at
 The sun and moon, when we have that within
 Makes us the soul and centre of Heaven itself?
 Ambition, thou hast played away my crown
 And life. That I forgive thee, but not this—
 Thou'st robbed me of the memory of his kiss.
 . . . Go, world! The conqueror's trump that closed my ears
 Unto the angel in a lover's voice
 Dies to a moan that fills but one lone heart.
 And soon 'tis silent. Ah, though woman build
 Her house of glory to the kissing skies,
 And the proud sun her golden rafters lay,
 And on her turrets pause discoursing gods,
 Let her not dare forget the stanchion truth—
 Immortal writ in every mortal face—
 "Thou art the wife and mother of the world!"

(Sees Khosrove's cloak upon the floor, and kneels by it taking it in her hands.)

My Khosrove! . . . Methought a god struck off my chains
 So strong and fair he seemed, yet strove to hide
 The beauty of his act, as might a star
 Shrink in its own sweet light!

(Buries her face in the folds of the cloak.)

O, noble prince,

I might have kissed thy lips and not thy garment!

(Rises and wraps the cloak about her. Spurns with her foot her own robe, which has been left trampled.)

Thou purple rag, lie there! Love's vesture shall

Enfold me as I go!

(Starts out) Alone....on foot....

But I've not far to journey. Foes are kind..

The first one met..well, I will thank him!...Cries?

It is the feast. A man may feast who had—

But has no son!.....*(Startled)*..'Tis not the feast!.....

I know

That noise confused—hoarse shouts—shrieks—pawing
steeds—

And rumbling chariots! Those are the tones

Of battle! O, the bloody work! 'T is war!

Did it delight me once?...Assyrian cries!

My troops! My troops! They've rallied! How they
cheer!

What brave heart leads them on?

(Cries come nearer) Poor creatures, they

Would save me, knowing not I died with Khosrove—

I will not live—

(The rear of the tent is torn away by an onslaught.

Assyrian troops enter, led by Artavan.)

ART.—Semiramis!

SEM.—My brother! You live!

ART.—And you!

SEM.—Praise Heaven, there is one

Will comfort my sad kingdom!

ART.—Nay, all's well!

The death of Ninus freed me from my prison;

I gathered troops and pushed hard after you,

To hear you had been taken; then I planned

This rescue. Thank great Belus, I'm in time!

SEM.—In time? Nay, thou'rt too late!

ART.—Too late? When thou

Dost live?

SEM.—I live? No! Thou'rt deceived!

ART.—O Heaven!

..She's dazed! Her troubles have bewildered her.

All's well, my sister! Husak has been taken.

Thy crown itself is in our hands. . . . The crown!
(A Soldier hands it to him.)

You see 'tis safe. *(She takes it idly.)*

SEM.—A crown. For such a thing
 Wouldst give thy Sola?

ART.— She is dear to me,
 But ay, by Heaven, I would!

SEM.— You would? I know
 A greater thing than this.

ART.— What sister?

SEM.—*(Letting the crown fall.)* Love.

ART.—O, she is crazed! This is some evil work!
 Bring the captive Husak! He shall speak!

SEM.—O, brother, once I thought thy love was truest
 That ever husband gave to wife, but now
 It showeth dark against my lover's truth!

ART.—Semiramis. . . . sweet sister. . . What dost mean?
 . . I'll know the cause of this! Call in the prince
 With Husak!

SEM.— Prince?

ART.—Ay—Khosrove, whom we found
 In chains—I know not why—and I unbound him,
 Recalling how he saved my life—but now
 I'll know what thou hast suffered at his hands!

SEM.—You found him bound? I can not hear—or
 see!

ART.—She swoons—she dies—O, true, we are too late!

SEM.—No, brother, thou'rt in time! I live! I live!
 I am Semiramis! Give me my crown!
 Now this small circlet seems to me the world,
 And it is mine—to wear—or give away!
 Is't not, good friends?

VOICES.— Ay, 'tis!

(Enter soldiers with Husak and Khosrove, Husak in fetters).

SEM.—King Husak, hear!
 Assyria and Armenia should be friends,
 Joining true hands to bring a happy peace
 O'er all the east. And in that dearest hope

I free thee. (*Unbinds him*). But thy son, the prince, must be
Again my prisoner.

HUS.— O, queen, I've spent.
One childless hour, and rather would I die
Than know another. Take my life or his.

ART.—Dost thou forget, Semiramis, that once
He saved thy brother?

SEM.— I remember all,
But will not change his doom. He must be bound,
Nor from my fetters may he go alive.
These are his chains—(*Putting her arms about his neck*) his
prison deathless love,
And here I pray that he will wear this crown,
And hold with me the great Assyrian throne!
.....(*Calls*) My Chariot!

KHOS.— My queen! my queen!

SEM.— Wilt thou consent?

KHOS. (*Kisses her lips*) I answer here.

(*The royal chariot appears now, rear. They step in.*).

SEM.—(*Giving the reins to Khosrove*). To Nineveh!
(*Curtain*).

THE DEATH OF PEMBROKE

From 'Lords and Lovers.' Copyright by Charles Scribner's Sons. By permission of
the publishers.

ACT I.

Scene I. Room in the Earl of Pembroke's castle. Pembroke in bed. Richford and Albemarle attending.

PEM.—The king has come?

ALB.— He waits upon your grace
As a good servant; with demeanor speaks
True sorrow you are brought so low.

PEM.—(*Stoutly*) Ha! Low?

ALB.—Sir, but in body. Pembroke's mounting mind
Can never be struck down.

PEM.— He's sad you say?

ALB.—In tears, your grace. He weeps more like a son
Than sovereign.

PEM.— A son! Where is the son
Would weep for Pembroke?

RICH.—Here, my dearest father!
Here are the tears would water thy affliction
Till it be washed from thy endangered body.
Here is the heart would give its younger blood
To make thine leap with health. Without you, sir,
I am no more than is the gaudy bloom
Of some stout tree the ax has brought to ground.
O, wilt forgive the many pains I've cost thee?

PEM.—First touch my hand and swear by highest God
That you will serve the king.

RICH.— O, slight condition!
I take this noble hand that ne'er was raised
'Gainst country, throne or God, and by that God,
I vow to serve the king.

PEM.— For the last time
I'll trust and pardon you. If you make black
Your soul with violation of this oath,
I, safe beyond the stars, shall know it not,
Nor die again to think on't. Men, weep not
That ye lack sons, but weep when your wives bear them!

ALB.—I'll vouch for him, your grace.

PEM.— Thanks, Albemarle.

RICH.—Will you, my kindest father, say a word
To bring me to the graces of the king?

PEM.—Ay, son.

RICH.— Now, sir?

PEM.— Nay, I'm not dying yet,
And wish to keep my last words for his ears.
There's holy magic in the passing tongue
That stamps its truth unrasurable. So
Would I grave Henry's heart.

RICH.— But, sir—

PEM.— I'll wait
My hour. Who comes with him?

ALB.— The legate, Gualo,
To-day arrived from Rome.

PEM.— And I not told?
Already I am dead. These ears, that kings

Engaged, are now contracted to the worm
Permits no forfeiture. Well, well, his message?

ALB.—The Cardinal assures us that the Pope
Will cast his power with Henry. Though he loves
This praying Louis, well he knows our right.

PEM.—The Pope our friend? I thank thee, Heaven!
England, take up thy heart! Thou yet mayst hope!

(*Enter Bishop of Winchester*).

WIN.—God save great Pembroke!

PEM.— He alone can do it.

Lord Albemarle, and my new-gracèd son,
Will't please you walk within?

ALB.— We are your servants.

(*Exeunt Richford and Albemarle, left*).

PEM.—Now, Winchester?

WIN.— You sent for me, Your Grace.

I have made haste.

PEM.— Ay, you'd trot fast enough

To see me die.

WIN.— Nay, sir, I hope you've called
Me to your service.

PEM.— So I have, my lord.

A task unfinished I must leave to you.

Here is the key to yonder cabinet.

Pray you unlock it....and take out the packet
Your eye's now on.

WIN.— This, sir?

PEM.— Ay, that is it.

'Twas Henry Second, grandsire of this Henry,
Gave me that packet. Sir, you know the tale
Of Princess Adelais who journeyed here
As the betrothed of Richard, Henry's son.

Alack, she never was his bride. Some say
That Henry loved her....I know not....but she
Returned to France, her reason wandering.

"If she recover," said the king to me,
"Give her this packet; should she die, break seal
And learn what you shall do." She did not die,
Nor can I say she lives, so sad her state.

Her age was bare fifteen when she left England,
 Her face a lily and her eyes a flood;
 She now must be midway her fifth decade,
 A time, I've heard, when subtle changes work
 Within the mind. A beauteous soul! O God,
 Restore her now, or lift her e'en to thee!
 Take you the packet, and the king's command.
 But first your oath. Deceit has sapped my faith
 So oft I could believe the devil himself
 Wears gown and mitre. Peter des Roches, will you
 Be true?

WIN.—I swear by Heaven.

PEM.— That is done,
 As well as't can be done. Call in my son
 And Albemarle.

WIN.— My lords!

(*Re-enter Richford and Albemarle*).

PEM.— Now, let us talk
 Of England. O, this fleet, this fleet, rigged out
 By warlike Constance in monk Louis' name!
 I see it nearing now, leaping the waves,
 On, on, and none to meet it! Cowards all.
 What do ye here, ye three loitering about
 A sick man's bed? A man almost a corpse.
 I would not have a servant waste himself
 To give me drink while England needs his sword.

RICH.—My father lord, we have our men abroad
 Rousing the country for a stout defence.
 To meet the French with our poor ships were madness;
 But let them land we'll give them such a rap—

PEM.—What? Land your enemy? O, fools and cow-
 ards!

. . . .I've given my life for England. Now you'll cast
 My heart-dear bargain into Louis' hand
 As 'twere o snood slipped from an easy maid.
 Fool man! to puff his days out jousting Fate,
 Who waits but his bare death to start her mock
 Of horrid pleasantries. Then does she make
 Dice of the miser's bones, carousal cups
 Of the ascetic's skull, a hangman's scoff

Of clerics' prayer-fed sons; and proudest sires,
 Who sentried their blue blood, peer back through dust
 To see all Babylon pour to their line.
 And now she'll bid my war-ghost eyes behold
 The land held with my life become a field
 For foes at holiday!

WIN.—Compose yourself, your grace.

PEM.—Gualo has come, but where is he will set
 This power its task, and play it for this isle?
 I cannot say that wisdom dies with me,
 But I could wish more proof of sager mind
 Than e'er I've had from this small audience.
 Lord Bishop, you are left custodian
 Of Henry's ripening youth.

WIN.— Nor shall I fail
 To be your worthy heir in this high duty,
 For still I shall consult with your great spirit,
 Praying your ghost be mover of my deeds.

PEM.—I've spoken to the king. He'll give you love
 For love. But who shall be lord chancellor?
 There's little choice. And yet there's one, De Burgh,
 If camp and field could spare him—

ALB.— Sir, a man
 No older than our sons?

PEM.— By your good leave,
 Age is no patent to respect and place
 If virtue go not with it. Whitened hairs
 Make honor radiant, but vice thereby
 Is viler still. Ay, there are some—

RICH.— Peace, father,
 And save thy strength for us.

PEM.— Ah, son, I've been
 A careless holder all my life, and still
 With my last hour play spendthrift. Well, here be
 Three friends of England—Gualo makes a fourth—
 And trusting you I ease my bones to death.

*(Enter attendant with a letter, which he gives to
 Pembroke).*

PEM.—*(After reading).* De Burgh! O gallant soul!
 Now I am young!

With forty ships he'll meet the fleet of France!

I live again, for courage is not dead!

(*Sinking*) Nay—help—ah, I am gone. I'll hasten on
And plead in Heaven for his victory.

(*Seems to die*).

ALB.—Ah . . . dead?

RICH.— In truth.

WIN.— I'll go and tell the king.

(*Aside, going*). My joyful tears he will translate to grief,
And think I weep a friend's death, not a foe's

Whose only act of friendship was to die. (*Exit*).

ALB.—How now, my lord? Does your good purpose
hold?

RICH.—It has the falling sickness, Albemarle,
And now lies low as earth.

ALB.— Then set thy foot
Upon it that it rise no more.

RICH.— 'Tis done.

ALB.—What fools are they who think that dying men
Speak oracles to pivot action on,
When death's decay so blurs each fading sense
They know but darkly of the world about,
And of realities all plain to us
Build visions substanceless to gull our faith.
Grant that they do take note of things unseen,
'Tis with their faces to another world,
And what they speak is strange and ill advice
To us whose work is still 'mong men of earth.

RICH.—You need not clear your way to me. I've not
A scruple in my soul would trip a gnat.
Speak out your heart.

ALB.— You are great Pembroke now.
But Richford took an oath to serve the king.

RICH.—And he—is Louis.

ALB.— Till we find hour fit
To cast his yoke and take a sovereign
Of our election.

RICH.—*Royal Albemarle!*

ALB.—Here we stand then. De Burgh we count as dead.
Le Moine has orders to strike off his head

Soon as he's taken. Now we get the king
 To Dover fort, on pretence to defend it.
 There the beseiging French will take him prisoner,
 And ship him straight to Calais—or to Heaven.

PEM.—(*Half rising*). Devils! dogs! beasts!

Now these devoted bones

Will never lie at present in English earth.
 My country! Must the foreign foot be set
 Once more upon thy neck, and thine own sons
 Pour sulphur to thy wounds? The king! the king!
 What, vipers, do you hear? Call in the king!

ALB.—We must not, sir.

PEM.—

Ho, here, the king!

(*Rises from bed, starts forward and falls back speechless.*

Enter Henry, Gualo, Winchester, and attendants.

Albemarle and Richford stand together. Pembroke dies pointing to them and gazing at the king).

HEN.—My lords, what does this mean?

ALB.—

This noble man

Wishes much to say a word of grace for me
 And his foreign son. Alas, black death
 Has stolen the balm that might have eased our way
 Into your heart.

HEN.—Fear not, my lords. I'll trust you,
 Even as he wishes. (*Kneels by bed*).

O, Pembroke, couldest thou leave me?

GEORGE DAVIS

[1820—1896]

C. ALPHONSO SMITH

SEVENTY years ago, George Davis, then only eighteen years of age, concluded his valedictory oration at the University of North Carolina with these significant words: "For us there is one consolatory thought that relieves in some slight degree the stinging pain and bitterness of this parting moment: It is the hope that we will leave behind us a not unremembered name—that we will still retain, though absent, a place in the memory of those whom we have loved with a brother's heart—whom we have clasped to our bosoms with more than fraternal affection. It is the hope that after we shall be no longer with you, when you tread those walks which we have loved, when you behold those fair scenes which used to gladden our eyes, some kind voice may whisper among you: 'I wish they were here.' This is our hope, this our prayer; for to be thus remembered is to be blessed indeed."

Looking back over his life of seventy-six years we now see that these words contained not only a farewell to college life but a prophecy of the larger life at whose threshold he then stood. If "to be thus remembered is to be blessed indeed"—and none will gainsay it—then Mr. Davis reaped a full measure of blessedness, for at his death he was the most eminent citizen and the best loved man in North Carolina.

He was born March 1, 1820, on his father's plantation at Porter's Neck, which was then in New Hanover County, but is now in Pender County, North Carolina. He graduated from the University of North Carolina (as valedictorian of his class) in 1838 and began the study of law in Wilmington. In 1840 he obtained his license and entered at once upon a career of usefulness and renown. He was a staunch Whig, but, though a leader of his party in North Carolina, he refused every tender of political office, preferring to devote himself to his growing practice and to the study and reading which his well-stored library made possible.

His oratorical powers developed early and his public addresses soon became notable events. If a national character like Henry Clay, or Robert E. Lee, or Jefferson Davis died, men looked instinctively to Mr. Davis to voice the feelings of New Hanover and

the surrounding counties. When Edward Everett came to Wilmington in 1860 to deliver his famous address on Washington, Mr. Davis's masterly introduction of the orator was compared not unfavorably with the effort of the New Englander himself. In 1868, when the blight of carpet-bag misrule lay upon the whole South, Mr. Davis's address in the old Opera House was pronounced by one of his biographers* "the most admirable political effort ever made in America." During the Tilden-Vance campaign of 1876 Mr. Davis delivered another address of which the *Morning Star* of Wilmington, in its issue of November fourth, said: "We have pigeon-holed that great speech in the escritoire of our mind, where we have stored but few of the productions of the men of our generation."

But Mr. Davis's power over an audience did not rest merely on oratorical gifts. The Christian character of the man, his open charity and large tolerance, the high social and civic ideals that he exemplified in his daily life—these have invested his memory with a love and tenderness that mere ability, however exalted, can never command.

Though a strong Union man, Mr. Davis believed that under the Constitution of the United States the Federal Government had no right to abolish slavery or to force one state to fight another. To the Peace Conference which met in Washington City, February 4-24, 1861, North Carolina sent her ablest and most conservative men. These were ex-Chief Justice Thomas Ruffin, ex-Governor David S. Reid, ex-Governor John M. Morehead, Honorable D. M. Barringer and George Davis. But the only alternative offered the delegates was to advise their State to fight with or against her sister states. They unanimously chose the former, and the Peace Conference was a failure.

On June 18, 1861, Mr. Davis and Mr. W. W. Avery were elected first senators from North Carolina to the Confederate Congress. This position Mr. Davis held by reelection until January, 1864, when he was appointed by Jefferson Davis, Attorney-general for the Confederacy. The growing admiration and affection felt for Mr. Davis by the President of the Confederacy may be traced in many letters.† That the regard was mutual may be seen from the following paragraph in the address‡ delivered by Mr. Davis in honor of his dead chieftain, December 11, 1889: "Whatever was great in his public life—and there was much—whatever was memorable in his actions as soldier, scholar, orator, statesman, patriot, these things I relegate

*Mr. S. A. Ashe in 'The Biographical History of North Carolina,' Vol. II.

† See "A Memorial of the Honorable George Davis," Wilmington, 1896.

‡ See "In Memoriam: Wilmington's Tribute of Respect to ex-President Jefferson Davis," 1890.

to history. I desire only to utter a few simple words in loving remembrance of the chief I honored, of the man I admired, of the dead friend whom I loved. What manner of man was this for whom ten millions of people are in grief and tears this day? No man ever lived upon whom the glare of public attention beat more fiercely, no man ever lived more sharply criticised, more unjustly slandered, more sternly censured, more strongly condemned, more bitterly hated, more wrongly maligned; and though slandered by enemies, betrayed by false friends, carped at by ignorant fools, no man ever lived who could more fearlessly, like a great man who long preceded him, 'leave the vindication of his fair fame to the next ages and to men's charitable speeches.' Standing here to-day by his open grave, and in all probability, not very far from my own, I declare to you that he was the honestest, truest, gentlest, bravest, tenderest, manliest man I ever knew: and what more could I say than that? My public life was long since over; my ambition went down with the banner of the South and, like it, never rose again. I have had abundant time in all these quiet years, and it has been my favorite occupation to review the occurrences of that time and recall the history of that tremendous struggle, to remember with love and admiration the great men who bore their parts in its events."

As Attorney-general during the last days of the Confederacy Mr. Davis fully sustained his reputation for courage, ability and resourcefulness. Mrs. Jefferson Davis writes of him as follows:* "He was never dismayed by defeat, but never protested. When the enemy was at the gates of Richmond he was fully sensible of our peril, but calm in the hope of repelling them, and, if this failed, certain of his power and will to endure whatever ills had been reserved for him."

The same letter contains an interesting indication of Mr. Davis's wide reading: "His literary tastes were diverse and catholic, and his anxious mind found relaxation in studying the literary confidences of others in a greater degree than I have ever known in any other public man except Mr. Benjamin. Upon being asked one day how he was, he answered: 'I am much comforted and rested by Professor Holcombe's "Literature in Letters,"' which was one of the few books which came out during the Confederacy. One of the few hard things I ever heard him say was when some one asked him if he had read Swinburne's "Laus Veneris," and added: 'You know it is printed on wrapping paper and bound in wall paper.' Mr. Davis answered: 'I have never thought wall paper wholesome, and am sorry to know there was enough wrapping paper on which to print it.' He

*See "A Memorial of the Honorable George Davis," Wilmington, 1896.

was fond of tracing the construction of languages, and the variants from one root were a favorite subject of conversation with him."

At the close of the war Mr. Davis returned to Wilmington and entered again upon the practice of law. On the death of Chief Justice Pearson in 1877, men of all parties in the State turned to Mr. Davis as his successor. "As was natural," said the *Raleigh Observer* of December 22, 1877, "when the time came to look around for men to put upon the highest judicial tribunal in the State, and people everywhere began to seek out the ablest and the best, the people of North Carolina instinctively, and, we may say, almost with one consent, cast their eyes upon Mr. George Davis, of Wilmington. As pure as he is able, and as able as he is true and devoted to the land that gave him birth, North Carolina never had a more worthy, a more brilliant or more devoted son than he, nor one better fitted in all the qualities of head and heart for the high position to which people everywhere had expected him soon to be called."

Mr. Davis, however, declined the proffered honor because the salary attached to it did not permit him to make suitable provision for his family. He was married, November 17, 1842, to Miss Mary A. Polk, a great-granddaughter of Thomas Polk, one of the signers of the Mecklenburg Declaration of Independence. Mrs. Davis died September 27, 1863. On May 9, 1866, he married Miss Monimia Fairfax, daughter of Dr. Orlando Fairfax, of Richmond, Virginia, who died July 27, 1889.

Upon receipt of his letter, declining the office of Chief Justice, Governor Vance wrote as follows:* "I desire to avail myself of this opportunity to say to you, in person, what I have often said and always thought in your absence, that you are one of the men who have steadily pursued principle for its own sake, spurning alike the temptations of office and the lures of ambition when they came not strictly within the utmost requirements of dignity and manly honor. As such there has come to me, as the result of my position, no greater happiness than the ability to testify my appreciation of your character and worth, and of the great service your example has been in shaping and toning the political ethics of our society. In attempting to honor you by the bestowment of that great office I have also attempted to show what is my own sense of State honor, as well as to give expression to the general voice of our people."

Mr. Davis's last appearance before a public audience was at the mass-meeting held in Wilmington, December 11, 1889, to honor the memory of ex-President Jefferson Davis. As one of the few

*"A Memorial of the Honorable George Davis," Wilmington, 1896.

surviving members of the Confederate Cabinet, his tribute to the Confederacy and its appointed leader was both eloquent and affecting. But the fear in the minds of many of his audience that they were listening perhaps for the last time to their own loved leader added its element of pathos to that of the subject. They saw before them the same imperial figure of other days, bent but not subdued by age; they heard the same rallying voice, softened now by weakness and failing breath; they recognized the same

“Choice word and measured phrase above the reach
Of ordinary men.”

But he spoke as one whose work lay behind him, whose eyes sought other scenes and other figures, and whose mind, though dauntless still, was habitually busy with

“Old, unhappy, far-off things
And battles long ago.”

During the years that remained to him he threw his influence in favor of complete reconciliation and readjustment. There was no weak plaint over an irrevocable past, but only brave words and high courage for the new duties that the new régime imposed. He died at his home in Wilmington, February 23, 1896.

In any just estimate of Mr. Davis as a writer and orator, three qualities will be found preëminent. There is first the mark of the trained historian in the accurate and exhaustive references to the best literature bearing on the subject in hand. It is not too much to say that in his address* on “The Early Men and Times of the Lower Cape Fear,” delivered in 1855, he brought the most romantic section of North Carolina permanently into history. And this he did, not merely by the vividness of his presentation, but more by his habit of minute reference to all available sources of information. This bibliographical instinct, which made him document every debatable position by detailed citations from histories, magazines, diaries, reminiscences, deeds, journals, memoirs, trials and epitaphs—furnished an invaluable example to the historians of a State that was just then beginning to feel the first strong stirrings of the historic consciousness.

In the second place Mr. Davis brought an interpretative imagination to bear upon every topic that he discussed. His mastery of facts was not an end in itself but merely a starting point. It was the coign of vantage from which he visualized the scenes and vitalized the

*This address was delivered before the literary societies of the University of North Carolina and published in the *University Magazine*, Vol. IV, 1855.

events that he sought to portray. It is this quality of mind that gives color, *locale*, and atmosphere to what would otherwise be mere abstract statement or unrelated fact. This vivifying power is not the exclusive dowry of the poet but distinguishes equally the orator from the mere talker, the historian from the mere annalist.

In the third place Mr. Davis had that rarest of gifts, the feeling for the right word in the right place. There was no straining after effect, but his style was always clear, strong and flexible. He could be dignified without being heavy, and playful without being light.

The following paragraph,* a model of its kind, illustrates his more serious style at its best: "A rich and well-stored mind is the only true philosopher's stone, extracting pure gold from all the base material around. It can create its own beauty, wealth, power, happiness. It has no dreary solitudes. The past ages are its possession, and the long line of the illustrious dead are all its friends. Whatever the world has seen of brave and noble, beautiful and good, it can command. It mingles in all the grand and solemn scenes of history, and is an actor in every great and stirring event. It is by the side of Bayard as he stands alone upon the bridge and saves the army; it weeps over the true heart of chivalry, the gallant Sidney, as with dying hand he puts away the cup from his parched and fevered lips. It leaps into the yawning gulf with Curtius; follows the white plume of Navarre at Ivry; rides to Chalgrove field with Hampden; mounts the scaffold with Russell, and catches the dying prayer of the noble Sir Harry Vane. It fights for glory at the Granicus, for fame at Agincourt, for empire at Waterloo, for power on the Ganges, for religion in Palestine, for country at Thermopylæ, and for freedom at Bunker Hill. It marches with Alexander, reigns with Augustus, sings with Homer, teaches with Plato, pleads with Demosthenes, loves with Petrarch, is imprisoned with Paul, suffers with Stephen, and dies with Christ. It feels no tyranny and knows no subjection. Misfortunes cannot subdue it, power cannot crush it, unjust laws cannot oppress it. Ever steady, faithful and true, shining by night as by day, it abides with you always and everywhere."

C. Alphonso Smith.

*From an address delivered May 14, 1856, before the Greensboro Female College, Greensboro, N.C. This paragraph is reprinted in "A Memorial of the Honorable George Davis," Wilmington, 1806.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

A Memorial of the Honorable George Davis, prepared and published by direction of the Wilmington Chamber of Commerce, 1896, 33 pages.

The Biographical History of North Carolina, Vol. II, 1905.

HENRY CLAY

"Eulogy on Henry Clay," delivered in Wilmington, North Carolina, July 15, 1852, and published by order of the Committee of Arrangements.

HE who has watched the sun in his bright course through the firmament, and seen it gradually decline until it went down in darkness beneath the horizon, can turn from the contemplation with no feeling of sorrow or regret; for he knows that the period of its absence is mercifully ordained as a season of necessary repose to him and to all; and that the morrow will restore its beams to revive and reanimate all nature. But if the last declining ray which struck upon his eyelid had brought to him the conviction that he had gazed for the last time upon the sun in the heaven—that thenceforward there was to be no more rising nor setting, no morning nor evening, nor light nor heat—no effulgent day, with all its glorious beauties and excellencies; but night and darkness, unrelieved, save by the twinkling stars, were to be the law of earth forever; with what sensations would the poor wanderer view that last setting of the sun! With feelings somewhat akin to those I have imagined, we behold the death of the great and good whom we love and reverence. But now they were here, with all the generous impulses and ennobling virtues that dignify and adorn humanity, clustering thickly around them. We rejoiced in their presence; we were better under their benignant influence; we were happy in their smiles; we felt that it was day, and looked not into the future. They are gone. The places of earth shall know them no more forever. The mysterious law which loosens the silver chord, and breaks the pitcher at the fountain, penetrates the heart. The darkness and the thick night of desolation are upon us. But we have more than the pale rays of twinkling stars still left to guide and to cheer. By

the light of their lofty deeds and generous virtues, memory gazes back into the past and is content. By the light of revelation, hope looks beyond the grave into the bright day of immortality, and is happy. So with the consolations of memory and hope, let us take the lesson of the great calamity which has befallen our country.

Henry Clay is dead! "After life's fitful fever, he sleeps well." The stalwart warrior is fallen in his harness. The clarion-voice, ever the first to signal dangers to the Union, is silent forever. Cold and still is the high heart whose every beat was for his country's welfare and honor. The discords of the world, the applause of an admiring Senate, the warm greetings of his friends, the loud clamors of foes, cannot now disturb his repose. He has given his life to history. Let us read a few of its pages and profit by their teaching.

Seventy-five years ago, in an obscure part of Hanover County, in Virginia, a poor child was given to the world. Ennobled by no long line of ancestors, no pomp of heraldry, no glare of wealth, no glories of birth or state, surrounded and dignified the event. In his own language, long years afterwards, "the only inheritances to which he was entitled, were infancy, ignorance, and indigence." But mighty elements were at work about him. Concord, Lexington, and Bunker Hill had just spoken. The immortal Declaration of the Thirteen United Colonies had flung defiance in the teeth of a tyrant. Ploughmen had suddenly started into warriors, obscure citizens into great statesmen, weak and divided colonies into a mighty nation. The whole continent was in a blaze of enthusiasm, and the very atmosphere of his birthplace was filled with the genius, the eloquence, and the patriotism of Patrick Henry. I know not what mysterious influence the time and circumstances of their nativity may have upon the destinies and characters of men. Certainly none could be more propitious than these to form a patriot. "Every movement," says a learned writer, "is witnessing the birth, progress, and decay of thought. The opinions that are perishing in one mind are rising in another, and often, perhaps, at the last fading ray of the flames of genius, which may almost have dazzled the world with excess of brilliance, some star may be kindling which is to shine upon the intellectual universe with equal light and splendour." It is

pleasant to imagine that the poor and friendless child, born near the spot which gave birth to Patrick Henry, at a time when the great orator was in the high meridian of his splendid career, and growing to man's estate, as he faded from the world, may have caught from the altar of his expiring glory the rays which afterwards illuminated his own bright pathway.

Time will not allow me to trace out minutely the progress of his early years, fraught as they are with lessons of the deepest import to every young and ardent mind. It is the old story. You hear it repeated every hour of your lives, and it falls upon your ears as unheeded as the dripping of the rain upon the senseless rock. It is the old story of privations, toils, trials, struggles, neglect, poverty; of a brave young heart cast into the battle of life, where the blows fall thickest, while all untaught and unarmed for the conflict; of a lofty spirit, conscious of the divine essence within which prompts, and, under other stars, would enable it to soar to the empyrean, yet chained to earth by the inexorable law of circumstance. How he bore him in the battle, the story of his after life may tell.

· Temptations assailed him; but they fell powerless before the shield of duty. Pleasures allured him; but, charmed they ever so wisely, they were harmless against the faith and fortitude of a man. And so he grew to manhood, purified by his early trials, which had hewn away the excrescences and imperfections of the quarried stone, and left, severe and naked, the perfect marble. The beautiful lineaments and tracery of the finished statue were to be worked out in after time. Just before maturity, he emigrated to Kentucky and joined the ranks of that profession which has given to mankind some of its greatest benefactors, and to liberty many of her holiest apostles. Success and eminence "followed as the night the day," and his reputation as a lawyer is only secondary, because it pales beside the lustre of his career as a statesman. Of this a proof is, that when in 1806, a prosecution was commenced in the United States Court in Kentucky, against Aaron Burr, for high treason, the accused, himself an eminent lawyer, eagerly sought out Mr. Clay, then quite young in his profession, and confided his destinies to his care.

But we have not now to do with his professional life. A genius as ardent as his, could not long, in our country, be kept

from the exciting arena of politics, and events were fast hurrying him to the scene of his grandest triumphs. In 1806, he was elected to the Senate of the United States for a vacancy of a single session. And it is worthy of remark, that his first speech in Congress was in favor of building a bridge over the Potomac River, at Georgetown, thus early committing himself to the policy of internal improvements by the general government, to which he steadily adhered during his long public service. How few among politicians die in the faith with which they entered life!

In 1807-8-9, he served in the Legislature of Kentucky. And in the last of these years, he made his celebrated report in the case of the contested election from Hardin County, which settled the American Law of Elections, that the ineligibility of the highest candidate vacates the seat, but does not confer it on the next highest, in opposition to the great authority of the decision of the British House of Commons, in the well-known case of John Wilkes. This report, universally followed as it has been, was of itself sufficient to make a great reputation. In 1809, he was again elected to the Senate for a vacancy of two years; and on the fourth of November, 1811, he took his seat as a member of the House of Representatives.

And now began a career of illustrious services and splendid triumphs unparalleled in the civic history of our country. The times, indeed, "were sadly out of joint." The British Orders in Council had placed American commerce at the mercy of British cruisers. Under the pretence of a violation of a paper blockade, they had seized our vessels upon the ocean, and at the very mouths of our harbors. They had ravaged our seas, plundered our commerce, impressed our seamen, insulted and violated our flag; and to finish the dark catalogue of abuses, an American frigate has been wantonly fired upon by a British cruiser in our own waters. And when respectful remonstrances (my blood boils at such a word!) were made against such gross and wanton outrages, they justified them by no high argument, by no irresistible appeal to ancient usages of international law; but tauntingly put themselves upon the law of might!

The good old rule, the simple plan,
That they should take who have the power,
And they should keep who can!

He who reads for the first time the history of that period, is shocked to learn, that under wrongs like these, any American bosom could beat with any other than American feelings. But the rancor of party hostility had made friends for Britain at the very heart of our Government, and the plans of Mr. Madison were bitterly opposed by all the force and talent of a strong and able party, led on by John Randolph and Josiah Quincy. And now the great issue was made, of submission or war. Submission of a free people to insult, wrong, dishonor—or war with the mistress of the seas, war with the mighty lion of England, whose power encircled the globe, and whose roar shook the nations of the earth. The occasion was grand, and grandly did the soul of the great patriot meet it. He stood in the van of the conflict, and clear and high his trumpet tones rang through the land, as he proclaimed “a free flag, free goods,” “free trade and seamen’s rights,” “millions for defence, but not one cent for tribute.” He rallied the shrinking Republicans, shamed the recreant Federalists, stirred the hearts of all. “What though we fail?” he said; “let us fail like men; lash ourselves to our gallant tars, and expire together in one common struggle!” He called back the memory of their gallant sires and their deeds of high renown; besought them to be true to their lineage, to stand up to the last for their country’s cause, and fight her second great battle for freedom—for freedom to sail upon God’s ocean.

The result is history. In the halo of our victories in the war which followed, and in the brilliant successes of our naval heroes, landsmen may forget the services which preceded them. But the poor tempest-tossed sailor, as he floats over distant seas, goes fearless to his rest, while the vindicated banner of the stars and stripes is waving above him; and as his last dreamy consciousness whispers a prayer to Heaven for home and wife and children, he mingles with it a soul-breathed blessing on the memory of Henry Clay.

Forced by the pressure of affairs at home, England at length consented to negotiations for a treaty. And he who had been the most strenuous advocate of war, became the most efficient minister of peace when war was no longer necessary for our honor and security. In the summer of 1814, with Russell, Bayard, Adams and Gallatin, he went as Commis-

sioner to Ghent. Untaught by many reverses, the British Commissioners attempted to treat as with a prostrate people suing for mercy. They demanded terms as disgraceful as impossible—that a portion of our territory be ceded—the exclusive possession of the great lakes surrendered—a boundary settled with their Indian allies, beyond which the United States should not purchase, and that the right to fish in British waters, secured by the treaty of 1783, should be abandoned. They little knew with whom they had to deal. Unanimously the American Commissioners refused to treat upon any such terms.

Meanwhile, Chippewa, Lundy's Lane, Champlain, Plattsburg, and Baltimore had rolled their thunders across the ocean, in an argument more persuasive than words—the “last argument of kings,” but the first of a free and insulted people. Thus pushed by the bayonet on the one hand, and the strong force of reason and justice on the other, and unable to answer either appeal, the British Commissioners hesitated, staggered, and then yielded. One by one their haughty demands were waived, and they fell back to their last position, demanding in return for the right of free fishery, the free navigation of the Mississippi River. And here they were nearly successful. A majority of the American Commissioners favored the cession. But again the genius and the large American heart of Henry Clay triumphed, and added another laurel to the chaplet on his brow. He took ground against the cession, and solemnly declared that he would never sign a treaty which threw open an American river to the free access of a foreign power. Negotiations were renewed; again the British Commission yielded, the treaty was signed, and the Father of Waters forever closed to British ships. Thus ended these celebrated negotiations which were conducted with the highest ability, the most consummate skill and prudence, and the most perfect devotion to the welfare and honor of our country; and the result of which drew from the bitter Tory, Lord Wellesley, the mortifying admission in the House of Lords, “that the American Commission had displayed an astonishing superiority over the British.” And through them all Henry Clay bore a conspicuous part.

Time presses, and we pass to another great epoch of his

life. Hitherto he had triumphed chiefly over foreign foes. He was soon to nerve himself for encounter with a more dangerous adversary, domestic dissension. At the session of 1819, arose the celebrated Missouri controversy. Ah, who that was then alive, does not shudder even now, as he recalls the perils of that fearful time! A bill was introduced into the House of Representatives, providing for the admission of Missouri into the Union, upon condition that all slaves born after the passage of the act, should be free at twenty-five years of age, and prohibiting the further introduction of slavery, thus practically asserting, for the first time, the right of Congress to prevent the admission of slave states into the Union. The bill passed the House; in the Senate the condition was stricken out; the House refused to accede, the bill was defeated, and so Missouri was for the time denied admission. At once there arose throughout the South a terrible agitation and alarm. A whirlwind of passion swept the land. Like the fiery cross, it sped from city to city, from mountain to mountain, from state to state, over the valleys and over the plains, seething and roaring, until it surged against the very base of the Constitution, and the sacred fabric tottered to its fall. Children of a common country became aliens in feeling. Brother armed against brother, and sire against son. The holiest ties of nature, the dearest affections of the heart, seemed shipwrecked in the chaos of passions. The friends of liberty throughout the world stood appalled, and the melancholy cry arose, that the last great experiment of representative government had failed! Serene and high amid the war of elements, the great Patriot alone stood, calm and undismayed. Firm in reliance upon his own tried powers, under the guidance of Providence, he trusted still. For, even in the angriest rush of the storm, there was a spirit that walked upon the waters, and seemed ever whispering at his heart: and it said, "Be of good cheer, it is I, be not afraid." Cheerily, he bent him to the work. He breasted the storm, he silenced the angry winds, he soothed the fearful passions; until chaos subsided and darkness fled, and peace and harmony once more smiled upon a happy land. A brave triumph! A most glorious victory! Not of the cannon or the bayonet; but of the gentle force of mutual concession and brotherly love; of the

golden rule of Christian morals, become the first law of Christian statesmanship. O, gallant heart! O, noble Henry Clay! For this one deed, if thou hadst lived in other ages, how would temples have risen, and altars blazed, and hecatombs been slaughtered, in thy name! And yet thy Christian country deemed it all unworthy of its grateful reward.

In this age, run mad after military glory, no services are prized that are not recorded in blood and tears. The fortunate soldier is the centre of all hearts. They glorify him, they strew flowers before him, they clothe him in purple and gold, and seat him in the high places, and he is crowned king of men. And the bloodier has been his pathway, the surer is his access to power. While he who averts a war, or saves his country by the arts of peace, though angels may sing his praises in Heaven, must look to history for his recompense on earth. Why should this be so? There is a grandeur far above any to which the mere soldier, however successful, can ever attain.

Look then abroad through nature to the range
Of planets, suns, and adamantine spheres,
Wheeling unshaken through the void immense,
And speak, O, man! does this capacious scene
With half that kindling majesty dilate
Thy strong conception, as when Brutus rose,
Refulgent from the stroke of Cæsar's fate,
Amid the crowd of patriots; and his arm
Aloft extending, like eternal Jove,
When guilt brings down the thunder, called aloud
On Tully's name, and shook his crimson steel,
And bade the Father of his country hail?
For lo! the tyrant prostrate in the dust,
And Rome again is free.

There are passages of moral sublimity in the life of Henry Clay, which will not suffer by comparison with the Roman's "crimson steel"; nay, are grander far. For Brutus, though a patriot, was a homicide; and the pages which embalm his memory, sanctify a crime. One such instance has just been cited. Others are before us. View him as he stood again between the hostile array of the North and South, upon the tariff, as the high priest stood between the living and the dead, when the plague was stayed. See how his tall form dilates and his eye

flashes with the mighty purpose of his soul, as he unfolds the principles of his great Compromise. Listen to the deep and thrilling tones of his voice, as he appeals to South Carolina in behalf of the Union, and paints in glowing colors the horrors of a civil war; then turns to the cold, stern men of the North, and tells them of the charity which "hopeth all things, believeth all things, endureth all things." See how every eye is turned to him, the only hope of a distracted land; how the pulse of a great nation bounds to every cadence of his voice. And tell me where, amid the bloodiest of all war's bloody pictures, you will find a scene like this? "Blessed are the peace-makers!"

I have thus briefly glanced at a few of the most prominent events in the career of this illustrious citizen. To do full justice to his life would require volumes. His biography is the history of his country for more than forty years. Seven times Speaker of the House of Representatives, sixteen years a Senator, Secretary of State, father of the American system, protector of home industry, advocate of universal freedom, in every national difficulty the Great Pacificator, in every act of his life the true and honest man, he has filled a large space in the admiration of the world. Few have possessed so high a combination of rare and excellent qualities. A strong judgment, a keen discrimination, a far-reaching sagacity, mighty powers of logic, rich gift of eloquence, indomitable courage, unyielding firmness, and above all, the utmost singleness and purity of purpose—these are all qualities which he has shared in common with others. But seldom, if ever, have they been so fused and blended into one perfect and brilliant whole as in him. I once heard a distinguished politician, a bitter opponent of Mr. Clay, say of him, "He is the only public man I ever knew who never dodged a question and never shunned a responsibility." What an epitaph to be written by an enemy! In all the grave and complicated affairs of his long and arduous life, there was no concealment, no indirection, no tampering with opportunity, no paltering with friend or foe. He fixed his mark on high, and his course to it was right onward and direct. He so governed himself by the law of a consistent rectitude, that his position in any moral or political conjuncture could be calculated with as much certainty as the astron-

omer predicts the future motions and relations of the planetary system. In the discharge of his public duties, he was ever courteous, but dignified and severe. In the relaxations of social life, gentle and sportive as a child. To his enemies, terrible as the lightning; to his friends, warm and genial as the sunbeam. His large American heart cherished no sectional feelings. He "knew no North, no South, no East, no West." His devotion was to his whole country, and he loved every atom of her soil. And for all his great services and sacrifices in her cause, he sought no reward but the approval of his own heart. Was he not then ambitious? "Yes," he said, on a memorable occasion, "I have ambition—but it is the ambition of being the humble instrument in the hands of Providence, to reconcile a divided people, once more to revive concord and harmony in a distracted land—the pleasing ambition of contemplating a free, united, prosperous, and fraternal people!" He passed unscathed through trials that would have shaken a soul less firm than his. The great and the humble alike followed and fawned upon him. Worshipped by his friends, their homes, their fortunes, and their hearts were at his command. He moved in an atmosphere of social incense, and the world seemed honored in showering upon him its proudest distinctions. Gold had tempted him, place had tried him, the blandishments of power assailed him, the honied words of flattery cajoled him, the envenomed shafts of slander had been launched against him, but in vain! For with garments undefiled, he still passed on alike through sunshine and through storm, in the undimmed lustre of incorruptible integrity. Just, generous, and true in life, in death there is none to stand above his dust and say, "Thou didst me this wrong."

Our song of praise is ended, and its theme dies into a low and melancholy strain. We draw near now to the closing scene of this great life, the grandest of all—a triumph and a tragedy! Alas! for human triumphs. They glitter and they vanish. You build high your altars, you bind the victim and prepare the incense for an offering of great praise; and all unknown the harvest is ripe for the sickle, and the great Reaper is ready for his work. "The paths of glory lead but to the grave!"

At the session of 1850, the slavery agitation again arose

to an intense excitement, and again destruction menaced the land. Another Curtius was needed to close the yawning gulf, and he came. From the peaceful shades of loved and distant Ashland, from the bosom of his home and wife, from the solaces that weary years had made so dear, crowned by immortal flowers, wreathed by a people's love, he came. Again the tempest rages, and the lightnings flash, and the thunders roll, and the thick darkness is over the land. And again serene and high the patriot stands amid the storm, its conqueror still. But, oh, how changed! Age and disease have done their work. The stately form is bent by the snows of many winters, the bright eye is dimmed, the strong hand trembles. But the high heart and the stately soul, and the mighty will, and the unflinching nerve, and the patriotic love are there. His country is in danger. In sorrowing tones she calls upon his name, and he bounds to her rescue, like the war-horse with the trumpet in his ear. Again he breasts the storm, and again the tall form is erect, and the eye flashes, and the nerves are strung, and the soul finds utterance, and the burning eloquence pours. It is the last triumph! The storm passes—but the tall oak lies shivered and leafless in the dust. Peace hath another victory, but many such were worth a nation's birthright.

From the passage of the Compromise, his health declined, and physicians have declared that his efforts then were the immediate cause of his death. And so his life-long devotion to his country was crowned at last with martyrdom in her cause. His health continued to decline and soon he went no more to the Senate Chamber. Occasional walks for air and exercise brought him at times before the public, and wherever he went, tearful eyes and sad and anxious faces followed him. Confined at length entirely to the sick chamber, he passed his fleeting days in the society of his friends, and in the consolations of religion. He knew that one more struggle was before him, the inevitable, and the last; and with the calmness and fortitude of a Christian philosopher, he girt his loins to battle with the King of Terrors.

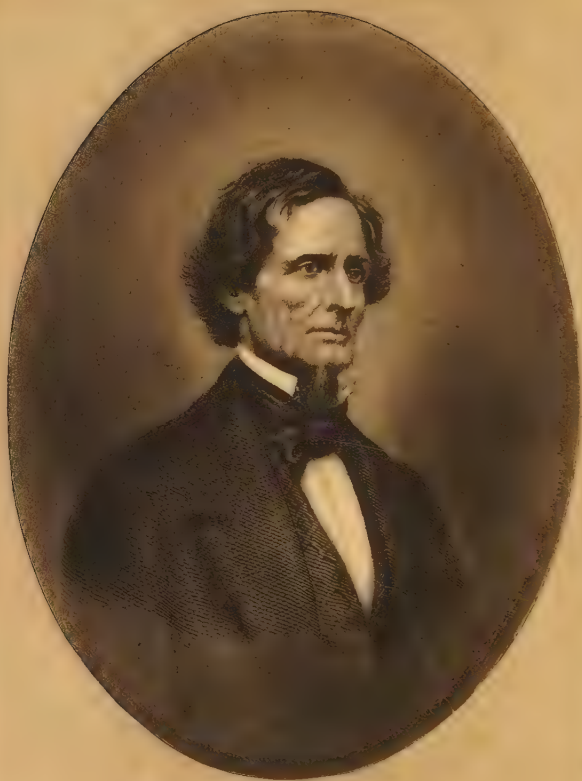
It is the twenty-ninth of June. Hush! Whisper low. Tread gently now. We are by the patriot's death-bed. That wasted form, that pallid cheek and sunken eye, are sad mementos of mortality. The lamp of life burns low. How solemn

is the stillness. Listen! He speaks. "Mother, my mother." Ah! gentle and pleasant memories of the far-off time are stirring at his heart. Again. "My dear wife." The sunshine of Ashland is on him now! And once again. Stoop lower, for the breath comes fluttering, faint, and feeble. "I am going home," he says—and the soul is fled.

Thus lived and died Henry Clay! So lived that he filled the world with his name, so died,

That when the mighty caravan,
Which halts one night time in the vale of death,
Shall strike its white tents for the morning march,
He will move onward to the eternal hills,
His foot unwearied, and his strength renewed,
Like the strong eagle's, for the upward flight.

There is mourning in the land, and the cry of distress goes up from the hearts of millions of freemen. From the silent halls of Ashland there comes no voice. Tearless and speechless in her great agony, a lone and gray-haired woman sits by the desolate hearthstone. Where is now the gallant Harry of her life's young prime? Who now shall be her staff, her pride, her comforter? May the great Father be merciful, bind up the broken heart, and take the thorns from the path of her pilgrimage.



JEFFERSON DAVIS

JEFFERSON DAVIS

[1808 —1889]

WILLIAM JONES

JEFFERSON DAVIS, the only President of the Southern Confederacy, was born on June 3, 1808, in Christian County,* Kentucky. His father, Samuel Davis, of Georgia, a Revolutionary soldier, who had served first in the "Mounted Gunners," and afterwards as captain in the infantry, moved to Wilkinson County, Mississippi, during the infancy of Jefferson.

The boy was prepared for college in the county academy, and entered Transylvania College in Lexington, Kentucky. He had reached the senior class at the age of sixteen, when he withdrew to enter, by appointment, in September, 1824, the United States Military Academy at West Point. From the Military Academy, in which he took a high stand both in his studies and in his deportment, he graduated in 1828, with the rank of brevet lieutenant. He was given his commission as second lieutenant in the Sixth Infantry, but was soon transferred to the recently organized First Regiment of Dragoons. Lieutenant Davis especially distinguished himself in the "Black Hawk War," and at its end was put in charge of the noted chief, whom as a prisoner he treated with such kindly consideration as to win his esteem and affection. It was at this period that President Jackson threatened to order the United States Army to South Carolina to repress the Nullification Movement. Lieutenant Davis was already so fully imbued with the doctrine of State Rights that he had fully made up his mind to resign his commission rather than aid in coercing a sovereign State.

After serving for a time on the Western frontier, Lieutenant Davis resigned his commission in order to consummate his long standing engagement to Miss Sarah Knox Taylor, daughter of Colonel Zachary Taylor, afterwards President of the United States. It is not true, as has been represented, that this marriage was a "romantic elopement," for Lieutenant Davis wrote Colonel Taylor of the proposed marriage, which took place in 1835, at the house of an aunt of the bride near Louisville, Kentucky.

He now went to his plantation, Briarfield, given him by his older

*Now Todd County. The exact site of his birthplace is now occupied by the Fairview Baptist Church, to which Mr. Davis himself gave the lot.

brother, in the valley of the Mississippi, about twenty miles below Vicksburg. In a few months his wife died, and for some years he lived in great seclusion, but in valuable preparation for his future career, as his time was spent in wide reading, constant study, and deep thought.

Mr. Davis's entrance into political life was in 1843, when, just one week before the election, he was induced to become a candidate for the Legislature on the Democratic ticket. The county was overwhelmingly Whig, and he did not expect to be elected; but he made a notable canvass, and in debates with Sargent S. Prentiss, unquestionably one of the greatest orators of the country, he held his own, to the delight of his party and the admiration of all the people. Though not elected, he greatly reduced the usual Whig majority. In 1844 he was appointed one of the Electors on the Democratic ticket, and by his speeches all over the State gained wide reputation as an able and eloquent speaker.

In February, 1845, he was married to Miss Varina Howell, of Natchez, who, sharing his fortunes the balance of his life, survived him for some years, and in these years did honor to his memory in her excellent biography. In the same year he was elected to Congress as a representative from the State "at large" and took his seat in December. He at once rose to be one of the leaders of the House, and took a conspicuous part in the debates on the tariff, the "Oregon question," and the relations with Mexico growing out of the annexation of Texas. In the course of a speech on the "Oregon question" he gave utterance to the strong feeling against sectional animosity and to his devotion to the Union of our fathers, which he always manifested, saying, among other things: "As we have shared in the toils, so we have gloried in the triumphs of our country. In our hearts, as in our history, are mingled the names of Concord, and Lexington, and Plattsburg, and Chippewa, and Erie, and Moultrie, and New Orleans, and Yorktown, and Bunker Hill. Grouped all together they form a record of the triumphs of our arms, a monument of the common glory of our Union. What Southern man would wish it less by one of the Northern names of which it is composed? Or where is he, who, gazing on the obelisk that rises from the ground made sacred by the blood of Warren, would feel his patriot's pride suppressed by local jealousy?"

After the war with Mexico had begun Mr. Davis was elected Colonel of a Mississippi regiment of volunteers. Resigning his seat in Congress in June or July, 1846, he hastened to his regiment, overtook it at New Orleans, and joined General Zachary Taylor at Camargo. At the siege of Monterey Colonel Davis and his regiment greatly distinguished themselves, and with his friend, Colonel Albert

Sidney Johnston, he was sent into the city to receive the formal surrender of the Mexicans under General Ampudia. But it was at Buena Vista that Davis and his Mississippians covered themselves with glory, and it is not putting it too strongly to say that in that battle, in which Santa Anna, with some twenty thousand men, attacked Taylor's five thousand, the skill of Colonel Davis and the heroism of his men saved the day and gave victory to the American arms.

Colonel Davis was severely wounded in this fight, but refused to leave the field until the victory was assured. For a long time he was on crutches, and was compelled to go home, where a great ovation from his people awaited him. The President of the United States appointed him brigadier-general, but he declined the commission because he believed that the President had no right to make an appointment which belonged to the State. Soon after this the Governor of the State appointed him to fill a vacancy in the United States Senate, and the Legislature at its next meeting confirmed the appointment, which the overwhelming sentiment of the people of Mississippi heartily approved.

There were "giants in those days," when there were in the Senate such men as Salmon P. Chase of Ohio, R. M. T. Hunter of Virginia, Sam Houston of Texas, John Bell of Tennessee, John McPherson Berrien of Georgia, William R. King of Alabama, Thomas H. Benton of Missouri, W. P. Mangum of North Carolina, Pierre Soule of Louisiana, Lewis Cass of Michigan, Stephen A. Douglass of Illinois, Henry Clay of Kentucky, Daniel Webster of Massachusetts, John C. Calhoun of South Carolina, and Jefferson Davis of Mississippi. And among all of the intellectual giants who then graced the Senate, it is but simple justice to say that in ripe scholarship, wide and accurate information on all subjects coming before the body, native ability, readiness as a debater, true oratory, and stainless character, Jefferson Davis stood in the very front rank, and did as much to influence legislation, and leave his mark on the Senate and the country, as any man of his day.

At the earnest demand of his party he resigned his seat in the Senate and became candidate for Governor of the State, and though defeated, he reduced the majority to less than a thousand. In March, 1853, he accepted the appointment of Secretary of War in the Cabinet of President Pierce; and while we have not space to go into the details of his administration, it is conceded by those competent to judge that he was one of the ablest secretaries that the War Department ever had. He introduced many reforms at West Point and in the Army which are blessing the service to-day. When his term as Secretary in the Cabinet of President Pierce expired the fourth of March, 1857, he reentered the Senate, having been elected again by

the Legislature of Mississippi. In the autumn of 1858 Mr. Davis addressed immense audiences in Portland, Maine, Faneuil Hall, Boston, and in New York City, in speeches which were highly commended not only for their eloquence, but for their patriotic devotion to the Union and the Constitution. It was during this period of his senatorial career that he made most earnest efforts to preserve the Union under the Constitution of our fathers. We have not space for the details, but we refer the reader to Mr. Davis's 'Rise and Fall of the Confederate Government,' for his very able summary of facts to show that he was not only innocent of the charge frequently made against him that he was a "Secession Conspirator," but that he was an indefatigable worker for the preservation of the Union. But when the end came, and his State seceded from the Union, he retired from the Senate, after an eloquent farewell address, which has been pronounced one of the classics of the time.

He accepted the appointment of Commander-in-chief of the Mississippi troops, very decidedly preferring to serve the Confederacy in the army. But when the overwhelming voice of the people called him to the Presidency he could not decline.

To write his record as President of the Confederate States would be to write the history of the Confederacy, and we must be content with saying that while he has been denounced by Union writers and made a "scapegoat" by certain Confederates, there can be little doubt that he discharged the duties of the office with ripe experience, rare ability, patriotic devotion, and even with wonderful success when one considers the "overwhelming numbers and resources" which opposed him. At the close of the war he was arrested and sent to Fortress Monroe, where he was confined in a casemate and—to the grave discredit of the Federal authorities—put in irons. Contrast this treatment with that he had accorded his Indian prisoner. He begged for a speedy trial and longed for the opportunity of vindicating himself and his people in the courts, and at the bar of history; but the ablest lawyers at the North declared that he could not be convicted of "treason," with which he was charged, and after two years' confinement he was released on bail, and the indictment against him never brought to trial. He spent a time in Canada, and in Europe, was for several years located in Memphis as president of an insurance company, and then settled in his beautiful home at Beauvoir on the gulf coast of Mississippi, where he spent his declining years in the bosom of his family. Here he prepared his great book on the 'Rise and Fall of the Confederate Government.'

He seldom went to public gatherings, but when he did he received great ovations from his people, who now regarded him as a "vicarious sufferer" for them. His health, undermined by his cruel imprison-

ment, was very feeble for many years before his death, which occurred on December 6, 1889, at the home of Judge C. E. Fenner, of New Orleans.

And now I have to speak briefly of the character of Jefferson Davis: I can think of no better introduction to what I may say of the life and character of the great chief of the Confederacy than to quote the first paragraph of the superb oration which he delivered at the notable Lee Memorial Meeting held in Richmond, Virginia, on Thursday evening, November 3, 1870. The spacious First Presbyterian Church was packed to its utmost capacity by an audience composed largely of Confederate veterans, who gave Mr. Davis such an ovation as king or proudest conqueror might have envied, and when the deafening cheers with which he was greeted, as he came forward to preside over the meeting, had subsided, he began his eulogy on Lee by saying:

"Soldiers and Sailors of the Confederacy, Countrymen and Friends:

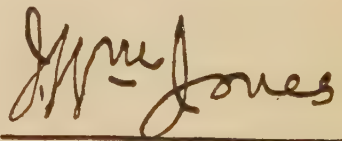
"Assembled on this sad occasion, with hearts oppressed with the grief that follows the loss of him who was our leader on many a bloody battlefield, there is a melancholy pleasure in the spectacle which is presented. Hitherto, in all times, men have been honored when successful; but here is the case of one who amid disaster went down to his grave, and those who were his companions in misfortune have assembled to honor his memory. It is as much an honor to you who give as to him who receives, for above the vulgar test of merit you show yourselves competent to discriminate between him who enjoys and him who deserves success."

How appropriate this language to the great gathering at his own funeral in New Orleans, and indeed the gatherings in every city, and well-nigh every town and hamlet of the old Confederate States. Describing the immense outpouring of the people, and the solemn decorum of the vast crowds at the funeral in New Orleans, Mr. F. H. Mussey, of the *Cincinnati Commercial Gazette*, said in his report to that paper: "The funeral of General Grant was a magnificent piece set on the stage, but this was a spontaneous outpouring of the hearts of a grateful people." And so it was. The man who had led his people in an unsuccessful struggle for independence died with a place in their hearts which no victor ever had.

I can only add now one or two personal reminiscences of the man. During the last ten years of his life it was my privilege to be a frequent visitor to Beauvoir, the beautiful home by the Gulf, where the evening of the days of this great man was spent, and to see him in the quiet of his home and in the bosom of his family. No man was ever a more affectionate husband or more devoted father. His

playful conversation with his charming wife and accomplished daughters, his devotion to his grandchildren, his graceful reception and entertainment of visitors, his fascinating conversation on any topic that might be introduced, his tender solicitude for the comfort and welfare of others, and the invaluable "material for the future historian" which his lightest conversation contained are all indelibly written in my memory and heart, but may not be detailed in this paper. This much, however, I must say: In all of my repeated interviews with Mr. Davis, and in the freedom of conversation about men and things with which he honored me, and in all of the confidential letters about historical matters which at different times he wrote me, there was a most remarkable absence of bitterness, or of denunciation even of those who had most grievously wronged and injured him.

I speak of my own personal knowledge and intimate intercourse with him when I say that Mr. Davis was one of the humblest, most intelligent, most decided evangelical Christians whom I have ever known. He was in his official positions always outspoken and decided on the side of evangelical religion, and his Fast-day and Thanksgiving proclamations were not only models of chaste style and classic English, but breathed a spirit of humble, devout piety, which was not perfunctory, but welled up from a sincere and honest heart. To Rev. A. E. Dickinson, concerning the grand work of colportage in the army, which he was superintending and pushing with rare ability, zeal and success, he said: "I mostly cordially sympathize with this movement. We have but little to hope for if we do not realize our dependence upon Heaven's blessing, and seek the guidance of God's truth." But it was especially in private life and in his home that his Christian character shone out most clearly. A diligent student of God's Word, a man of prayer because a believer in prayer, a regular attendant on church services, fond of conversation on religious topics, and of consistent Christian walk, he gave in his intimate personal intercourse with me the most abundant evidence that he took Christ as his personal Saviour; that he rested with childlike trust in the grand old doctrines of salvation by grace, and justification by faith, and that he rejoiced in the sweet comforts and precious hope of the Gospel.



THE PRINCIPLES OF DEMOCRACY

Extract from a Reply to Douglas in the United States Senate, May 17, 1860.

MR. PRESIDENT, after having for forty years been engaged in bitter controversy over a question relating to common property of the States, we have reached the point where the issue is presented in a form in which it becomes us to meet it according to existing facts; where it has ceased to be a question to be decided on the footing of authority, and by reference to history. We have decided that too long had this question been disturbing the peace and endangering the Union, and it was resolved to provide for its settlement by treating it as a judicial question. Now, will it be said, after Congress provided for the adjustment of this question by the courts, and after the courts had a case brought before them, and expressed an opinion covering the controversy, that no additional latitude is to be given to the application of the decision of the court, though Congress had referred it specially to them; that it is to be treated simply and technically as a question of *meum et tuum*, such as might have arisen if there had been no such legislation by Congress? Surely it does not become those who have pointed us to that provision as the peace-offering, as the means for final adjustment, now to say that it meant nothing more than that the courts would go on hereafter, as heretofore, to try questions of property.

The courts have decided the question so far as they could decide any political question. A case arose in relation to property in a slave held within a territory where a law of Congress declared that such property should not be held. The whole case was before them; everything, except the mere technical point that the law was not enacted by a territorial legislature. Why, then, if we are to abide by the decision of the Supreme Court in any future case, do they maintain this controversy on the mere technical point which now divides, disturbs, distracts, destroys the efficiency and the power of the Democratic party? To the Senator, I know, as a question of property, it is a matter of no consequence. I should do him an injustice if I left any one to infer that I treated his argument as one made by a man prejudiced against the

character of property involved in the question. That is not his position; but I assert that he is pursuing an *ignis fatuus*—not a light caught from the Constitution—but a vapor which has arisen from the corrupting cesspools of sectional strife, of faction and individual rivalry. Measured by any standard of common sense, its magnitude would be too small to disturb the adjustment of the balance of our country. There can be no appeal to humanity made upon this basis. Least of all could it be made to one who, like the Senator and myself, has seen this species of property in its sparse condition on the Northwestern frontier, and seen it go out without disturbing the tranquillity of the community, as it had previously existed without injury to anyone, if not to the benefit of the individual who held it. He has no apprehension, he can have none, that is to retard the political prosperity of the future states—now the territories. He can have no apprehension that in that country, to which they never would be carried except for domestic purposes, they could ever so accumulate as to constitute a great political element. He knows, and every man who has had experience and judgment must admit, that the few who may be so carried there have nothing to fear but the climate, and that living in that close connection which belongs to one or half a dozen of them in a family, the kindest relations which it is possible to exist between master and dependent, exist between these domestics and their owners. There is a relation belonging to this species of property, unlike that of the apprentice or the hired man, which awakens whatever there is of kindness or of nobility of soul in the heart of him who owns it; this can only be alienated, obscured, or destroyed by collecting this species of property into such masses that the owner is not personally acquainted with the individuals who compose it. In the relation, however, which can exist in the Northwestern Territories, the mere domestic connection of one, two, or, at most, half a dozen servants in a family, associating with the children as they grow up, attending upon age as it declines, there can be nothing against which either philanthropy or humanity can make an appeal. Not even the emancipationist could raise his voice, for this is the high road and the open gate to the condition in which the masters would, from interest, in a few years, desire the

emancipation of everyone who may thus be taken to the Northwestern frontier.

Mr. President, I briefly and reluctantly referred, because the subject had been introduced, to the attitude of Mississippi on a former occasion. I will now as briefly say, that in 1851 and in 1860 Mississippi was, and is, ready to make every concession which it becomes her to make to the welfare and the safety of the Union. If, on a former occasion, she hoped too much from fraternity, the responsibility for her disappointment rests upon those who fail to fulfill her expectations. She still clings to the Government as our fathers formed it. She is ready to-day and to-morrow, as in her past, and though brief, yet brilliant history, to maintain that Government in all its power, and to vindicate its honor with all the means she possesses. I say brilliant history; for it was in the very morning of her existence that her sons, on the plains of New Orleans, were announced in general orders to have been the admiration of one army and the wonder of the other. That we had a division in relation to the measures enacted in 1850, is true; that the Southern rights men became the minority in the election which resulted, is true; but no figure of speech could warrant the Senator in speaking of them as subdued; as coming to him or anybody else for quarter. I deemed it offensive when it was uttered, and the scorn with which I repelled it at the instant, time has only softened to contempt. Our flag was never borne from the field. We had carried it in the face of defeat, with a knowledge that defeat awaited it; but scarcely had the smoke of the battle passed away which proclaimed another victor, before the general voice admitted that the field again was ours; I have not seen a sagacious, reflecting man, who was cognizant of the events as they transpired at the time, who does not say that, within two weeks after the election, our party was in a majority; and the next election which occurred showed that we possessed the State beyond controversy. How we have wielded that power it is not for me to say. I trust others may see forbearance in our conduct—that, with a determination to insist upon our constitutional rights, then and now, there is an unwavering desire to maintain the Government, and to uphold the Democratic party.

We believe now, as we have asserted on former occasions, that the best hope for the perpetuity of our institutions depends upon the coöperation, the harmony, the zealous action of the Democratic party. We cling to that party from conviction that its principles and its aims are those of truth and the country, as we cling to the Union for the fulfilment of the purposes for which it was formed. Whenever we shall be taught that the Democratic party is recreant to its principles; whenever we shall learn that it can not be relied upon to maintain the great measures which constitute its vitality, I, for one, shall be ready to leave it. And so, when we declare our tenacious adherence to the Union, it is the Union of the Constitution. If the compact between the states is to be trampled into the dust; if anarchy is to be substituted for the usurpation and consolidation which threatened the Government at an earlier period; if the Union is to become powerless for the purposes for which it was established, and we are vainly to appeal to it for protection, then, sir, conscious of the rectitude of our course, the justice of our cause, self-reliant, yet humbly, confidently trusting in the arm that guided and protected our fathers, we look beyond the confines of the Union for the maintenance of our rights. A habitual reverence and cherished affection for the Government will bind us to it longer than our interests would suggest or require; but he is a poor student of the world's history who does not understand that communities at last must yield to the dictates of their interests. That the affection, the mutual desire for the mutual good, which existed among our fathers, may be weakened in succeeding generations by the denial of right, and hostile demonstration, until the equality guaranteed, but not secured within the Union, may be sought for without it, must be evident to even a careless observer of our race. It is time to be up and doing. There is yet time to remove the causes of dissension and alienation which are now distracting, and have for years past divided the country.

If the Senator correctly described me as having, at a former period, against my own preferences and opinions, acquiesced in the decision of my party; if when I had youth, when physical vigor gave promise of many days, and the future was painted in the colors of hope, I could thus surrender my own convictions, my own prejudices, and coöperate with

my political friends, according to their views, as to the best method of promoting the public good; now, when the years of my future can not be many, and experience has sobered the hopeful tints of youth's gilding; when, approaching the evening of life, the shadows are reversed, and the mind turns retrospectively, it is not to be supposed that I would abandon lightly, or idly put on trial, the party to which I have steadily adhered. It is rather to be assumed that conservatism, which belongs to the timidity or caution of increasing years, would lead me to cling to—to be supported by, rather than to cast off, the organization with which I have been so long connected. If I am driven to consider the necessity of separating myself from those old and dear relations, discarding the accustomed support, under circumstances such as I have described, might not my friends who differ from me pause and inquire whether there is not something involved in it which calls for their careful revision?

I desire no divided flag for the Democratic party, seek not to depreciate the power of the Senator, or to take from him anything of that confidence he feels in the large army which follows his standard. I prefer that his banner should lie in its silken folds to feed the moths; but if it unrestrainedly rustles, impatient to be unfurled, we who have not invited the conflict shrink not from the trial; we will plant our flag on every hill and plain; it shall overlook the Atlantic and welcome the sun as he rises from its dancing waters; it shall wave its adieu as he sinks to repose in the quiet Pacific.

Our principles are national; they belong to every state of the Union; and though elections may be lost by their assertion, they constitute the only foundation on which we can maintain power, on which we can again rise to the dignity the Democracy once possessed. Does not the Senator from Illinois see in the sectional character of the vote he received, that his opinions are not acceptable to every portion of the country? Is not the fact that the resolutions adopted by seventeen states, on which the greatest reliance must be placed for Democratic support, are in opposition to the dogma to which he still clings, a warning that if he persists and succeeds in forcing his theory upon the Democratic party, its days are numbered? We ask only for the Constitution. We ask of the Democracy only

from time to time to declare, as current exigencies may indicate, what the Constitution was intended to secure and provide. Our flag bears no new device. Upon its folds our principles are written in living light; all proclaiming the constitutional Union, justice, equality, and fraternity of our ocean-bound domain, for a limitless future.

SPEECH AT PORTLAND, MAINE

FELLOW-CITIZENS: Accept my sincere thanks for this manifestation of your kindness. Vanity does not lead me so far to misconceive your purpose as to appropriate the demonstration to myself; but it is not the less gratifying to me to be made the medium through which Maine tenders an expression of regard to her sister, Mississippi. It is, moreover, with feeling of profound gratification that I witness this indication of that national sentiment and fraternity which made us, and which alone can keep us, one people. At a period but as yesterday, when compared with the life of nations, these states were separate, and, in some respects, opposing colonies; their only relation to each other was that of a common allegiance to the Government of Great Britain. So separate, indeed almost, hostile, was their attitude, that when General Stark, of Bennington memory, was captured by savages on the headwaters of the Kennebec, he was subsequently taken by them to Albany, where they went to sell furs, and again led away a captive, without interference on the part of the inhabitants of that neighboring colony to demand or obtain his release. United as we are now, were a citizen of the United States, as an act of hostility to our country, imprisoned or slain in any quarter of the world, whether on land or sea, the people of each state of the Union, with one heart and with one voice, would demand redress, and woe be to him against whom a brother's blood cried to us from the ground. Such is the fruit of the wisdom and the justice with which our fathers bound contending colonies into confederation, and blended different habits and rival interests into a harmonious whole, so that, shoulder to shoulder, they entered on the trial of the Revolution, and step with step trod its thorny paths until they reached the heights of national

independence, and founded the constitutional representative liberty which is our birthright.

When the mother country entered upon her career of oppression, in disregard of chartered and constitutional rights, our forefathers did not stop to measure the exact weight of the burden, or to ask whether the pressure bore most upon this colony or upon that, but saw in it the infraction of a great principle, the denial of a common right, in defense of which they made common cause—Massachusetts, Virginia, and South Carolina vying with each other as to who should be foremost in the struggle, where the penalty of failure would be a dishonorable grave. Tempered by the trials and sacrifices of the Revolution, dignified by its noble purposes, elevated by its brilliant triumphs, endeared to each other by its glorious memories, they abandoned the Confederacy, not to fly apart when the outward pressure of hostile fleets and armies was removed, but to draw closer their embrace in the formation of a more perfect Union.

By such men, thus trained and ennobled, our Constitution was framed. It stands a monument of principle, of forecast, and, above all, of that liberality which made each willing to sacrifice local interest, individual prejudice, or temporary good to the general welfare and the perpetuity of the republican institution which they had passed through fire and blood to secure. The grants were as broad as were necessary for the functions of the general agent, and the mutual concessions were twice blessed, blessing him who gave and him who received. Whatever was necessary for domestic government—requisite in the social organization of each community—was retained by the states and the people thereof; and these it was made the duty of all to defend and maintain. Such, in very general terms, is the rich political legacy our fathers bequeathed to us. Shall we preserve and transmit it to posterity? Yes, yes, the heart responds; and the judgment answers, the task is easily performed. It but requires that each should attend to that which most concerns him, and on which alone he has rightful power to decide and to act; that each should adhere to the terms of a written compact, and that all should coöperate for that which interest, duty and honor demand.

For the general affairs of our country, both foreign and

domestic, we have a national Executive and a national Legislature. Representatives and Senators are chosen by districts and by states, but their acts affect the whole country, and obligations are to the whole people. He who, holding either seat, would confine his investigations to the mere interests of his immediate constituents, would be derelict to his plain duty; and he who would legislate in hostility to any section, would be morally unfit for the station, and surely an unsafe depository, if not a treacherous guardian, of the inheritance with which we are blessed. No one more than myself recognizes the binding force of the allegiance which the citizen owes to the state of his citizenship, but that state being a party to our compact, a member of the Union, fealty to the Federal Constitution is not in opposition to, but flows from the allegiance due to one of the United States. Washington was not less a Virginian when he commanded at Boston, nor did Gates or Greene weaken the bonds which bound them to their several states by their campaigns in the South. In proportion as a citizen loves his own state, will he strive to honor by preserving her name and her fame free from the tarnish of having failed to observe her obligations and fulfil her duties to her sister states. Each page of our history is illustrated by the names and deeds of those who have well understood and discharged the obligation. Have we so degenerated that we can no longer emulate their virtues? Have the purposes for which our Union was formed lost their value? Has patriotism ceased to be a virtue, and is narrow sectionalism no longer to be counted a crime? Shall the North not rejoice that the progress of agriculture in the South has given to her great staple the controlling influence of the commerce of the world, and put manufacturing nations under bond to keep the peace with the United States? Shall the South not exult in the fact that the industry and persevering intelligence of the North has placed her mechanical skill in the front rank of the civilized world—that our mother country, whose haughty Minister, some eighty odd years ago, declared that not a hob-nail should be made in the colonies, which are now the United States, was brought some four years ago to recognize our preëminence by sending a commission to examine our workshops and our machinery, to perfect their own manufacture of the arms requisite for their

defense? Do not our whole people, interior and seaboard, North, South, East, and West, alike feel proud of the hardihood, the enterprise, the skill, and the courage of the Yankee sailor, who has borne our flag far as the ocean bears its foam, and caused the name and character of the United States to be known and respected wherever there is wealth enough to woo commerce and intelligence to honor merit? So long as we preserve and appreciate the achievements of Jefferson and Adams, of Franklin and Madison, of Hamilton, of Hancock, and of Rutledge, men who labored for the whole country, and lived for mankind, we can not sink to the petty strife which would sap the foundations and destroy the political fabric our fathers erected and bequeathed as an inheritance to our posterity forever.

Since the formation of the Constitution a vast extension of territory, and varied relations arising therefrom, have presented problems which could not have been foreseen. It is just cause for admiration, even wonder, that the provisions of the fundamental law should have been so fully adequate to all the wants of government, new in its organization, and new in many of the principles on which it was founded. Whatever fears may have once existed as to the consequences of territorial expansion must give way before the evidence which the past affords. The general government, strictly confined to its delegated functions, and the state left in the undisturbed exercise of all else, we have a theory and practice which fits our government for immeasurable domain, and might, under a millennium of nations, embrace mankind.

From the slope of the Atlantic our population, with ceaseless tide, has poured into the wide and fertile valley of the Mississippi, with eddying whirl has passed to the coast of the Pacific; from the West and the East the tides are rushing toward each other, and the mind is carried to the day when all the cultivable land will be inhabited, and the American people will sigh for more wilderness to conquer. But there is here a physico-political problem presented for our solution. Were it purely physical your past triumphs would leave but little doubt of your capacity to solve it. A community which, when less than twenty thousand, conceived the grand project of crossing the White Mountains, and unaided, save by the stimulus which

jeers and prophecies of failure gave, successfully executed the Herculean work, might well be impatient if it were suggested that a physical problem was before us too difficult for mastery. The history of man teaches that high mountains and wide deserts have resisted the permanent extension of empire, and have formed the immutable boundaries of states. From time to time, under some able leader, have the hordes of the upper plains of Asia swept over the adjacent country, and rolled their conquering columns over Southern Europe. Yet, after the lapse of a few generations, the physical law, to which I have referred, has asserted its supremacy, and the boundaries of those states differ little now from those which obtained three thousand years ago.

Rome flew her conquering eagles over the then known world, and has now subsided into the little territory on which the great city was originally built. The Alps and Pyrenees have been unable to restrain imperial France; but her expansion was a feverish action, her advance and her retreat were tracked with blood, and those mountain ridges are the reëstablished limits of her empire. Shall the Rocky Mountains prove a dividing barrier to us? Were ours a central consolidated Government, instead of a Union of Sovereign States, our fate might be learned from the history of the other nations. Thanks to the wisdom and independent spirit of our forefathers, this is not the case. Each state having sole charge of its local interests and domestic affairs, the problem, which to others has been insoluble, to us is made easy. Rapid, safe and easy communication between the Atlantic and the Pacific will give co-intelligence, unity of interest, and coöperation among all the parts of our continent-wide Republic. The network of railroads which bind the North and the South, the slope of the Atlantic and the valley of the Mississippi, together testify that our people have the power to perform, in that regard, whatever it is their will to do.

We require a railroad to the Slope of the Pacific for present use; the time no doubt will come when we shall have the need of two or three, it may be more. Because of the desert character of the interior country the work will be difficult and expensive. It will require the efforts of a united people. The bickering of little politicians, the jealousies of sections must

give way to dignity of purpose and zeal for the common good. If the object be obstructed by contention and division as to whether the route shall be Northern, Southern, or Central, the handwriting is on the wall, and it requires little skill to see that failure is the interpretation of the inscription. You are practical people, and may ask, How is that contest to be avoided? By taking the question out of the hands of politicians altogether. Let the Government give such aid as it is proper for it to render to the company which shall propose the most feasible plan; then leave to capitalists with judgment, sharpened by interest, the selection of the route, and the difficulties will diminish, as did those which you overcame when you connected your harbor with the Canadian provinces.

It would be to trespass on your kindness and to violate the proprieties of the occasion were I to detain the vast concourse which stands before me by entering on the discussion of controverted topics, or by further indulging in the expression of such reflections as circumstances suggest. I came to your city in quest of health and repose. From the moment I entered it you have showered upon me kindness and hospitality. Though my experience has taught me to anticipate good rather than evil from my fellow-man, it had not prepared me to expect such unremitting attention as has here been bestowed. I have been jocularly asked in relation to my coming here, whether I have secured a guarantee for my safety, and lo! I have found it. I stand in the midst of thousands of my fellow-citizens. But, my friends, I came neither distrusting nor apprehensive, of which you have proof in the fact that I brought with me the objects of tenderest affection and solicitude, my wife and my children; they have shared with me your hospitality, and will alike remain your debtors. If, at some future time, when I am mingled with the dust, and the arm of my infant son has been nerved for deeds of manhood, the storms of war should burst upon your city, I feel that, relying upon his inheriting the instincts of his ancestors and mine, I may pledge him in that perilous hour to stand by your side in the defense of your hearth-stones, and in maintaining the honor of a flag whose constellation, though torn and smoked in many a battle by sea and land, has never been stained with dishonor.

and will, I trust, forever fly as free as the breeze which unfolds it.

A stranger to you, the salubrity of your location, and the beauty of its scenery were not wholly unknown to me, nor were there wanting associations which busy memory connected with your people. You will pardon me for alluding to one whose genius shed a lustre upon all it touched, and whose qualities gathered about him hosts of friends wherever he was known. Prentiss, a native of Portland, lived from youth to middle age in the county of my residence; and the inquiries which have been made show me that the youth excited the interest which the greatness of the man justified, and that his memory thus remains a link to connect your home with mine. A cursory view, when passing through your town on former occasions, had impressed me with the great advantage of your harbor, its easy entrance, its depth, and its extensive accommodations for shipping. But its advantage and its facilities, as they have been developed by closer inspection, have grown upon me, until I realize that it is no boast, but the language of sober truth, which, in the present state of commerce, pronounces them unequaled in any harbor of our country.

And surely no place could be more inviting to an invalid who sought refuge from the heat of Southern summer. Here waving elms offer him shaded walks, and magnificent residences, surrounded by flowers, fill the mind with ideas of comfort and rest. If, weary of constant contact with his fellow-men, he seeks a deeper seclusion, there, in the back-ground of this grand amphitheatre, lie the eternal mountains, frowning with brow of rock and cap of snow upon smiling fields beneath, and there in its recesses may be found as much wildness and as much of solitude as the pilgrim, weary of cares of life, can desire.

If he turns to the front, your capacious harbor, studded with green islands of ever-varying light and shade, and enlightened by all the stirring evidence of commercial activity, offer him the mingled charms of busy life and nature's calm repose. A few miles farther, and he may sit upon the quiet shore to listen to the murmuring wave until the troubled spirit sinks to rest; and in the little sail that vanishes on the illimitable sea we find the type of the voyage which he is soon to take,

when, his ephemeral existence closed, he embarks for that better state which lies beyond the grave.

Richly endowed as you are by nature in all which contributes to pleasure and usefulness, the stranger cannot pass without paying a tribute to the much which your energy has achieved for yourselves. Where else will one find a more happy union of magnificence and comfort? Where better arrangements to facilitate commerce? Where so much of industry with so little noise and bustle? Where, in a phrase, so much effected in proportion to the means employed? We hear the puff of the engine, the roll of the wheel, the ring of the ax and the saw, but the stormy passionate exclamation so often mingled with the sounds are nowhere heard. Yet neither these nor other things which I have mentioned, attractive though they be, have been to me the chief charm which I have found among you. For above all these, I place the gentle kindness, the cordial welcome, the hearty grasp which made me feel truly and at once, though wandering afar, that I was still at home. My friends, I thank you for this additional manifestation of your good-will.

FAREWELL ADDRESS TO THE UNITED STATES
SENATE, JANUARY 21, 1861

I RISE, Mr. President, for the purpose of announcing to the Senate that I have satisfactory evidence that the State of Mississippi, by a solemn ordinance of her people, in convention assembled, has declared her separation from the United States. Under these circumstances, of course, my functions are terminated here. It has seemed to me proper, however, that I should appear in the Senate to announce that fact to my associates, and I will say but very little more. The occasion does not invite me to go into argument, and my physical condition would not permit me to do so, if it were otherwise; and yet it seems to become me to say something on the part of the State I here represent on an occasion so solemn as this.

It is known to Senators who have served with me here that I have for many years advocated, as an essential attribute of state sovereignty, the right of a state to secede from the Union. Therefore, if I had not believed there was justifiable cause, if I had thought that Mississippi was acting without sufficient provocation, or without an existing necessity, I should still, under my theory of the government, because of my allegiance to the State of which I am a citizen, have been bound by her action. I, however, may be permitted to say that I do think she has justifiable cause, and I approve of her act. I conferred with her people before that act was taken, counseled them then that, if the state of things which they apprehended should exist when their convention met, they should take the action which they have now adopted.

I hope none who hear me will confound this expression of mine with the advocacy of the right of a state to remain in the Union, and to disregard its constitutional obligations by the nullification of the law. Such is not my theory. Nullification and secession, so often confounded, are, indeed, antagonistic principles. Nullification is a remedy which it is sought to apply within the Union, and against the agent of the states. It is only to be justified when the agent has violated his constitutional obligations, and a state, assuming to judge for itself, denies the right of the agent thus to act, and appeals to the

other states of the Union for a decision; but, when the states themselves, and when the people of the states have so acted as to convince us that they will not regard our constitutional rights, then, and then for the first time, arises the doctrine of secession in its practical application.

A great man who now reposes with his fathers, and who has often been arraigned for a want of fealty to the Union, advocated the doctrine of nullification because it preserved the Union. It was because of his deep-seated attachment to the Union—his determination to find some remedy for existing ills, short of a severance of the ties which bound South Carolina to the other states—that Mr. Calhoun advocated the doctrine of nullification, which he proclaimed to be peaceful, to be within the limits of state power, not to disturb the Union, but only to be a means of bringing the agent before the tribunal of the states for their judgment.

Secession belongs to a different class of remedies. It is to be justified upon the basis that the states are sovereign. There was a time when none denied it. I hope the time may come again when a better comprehension of the theory of our Government, and the inalienable rights of the people of the states, will prevent anyone from denying that each state is a sovereign, and thus may reclaim the grants which it has made to any agent whomsoever.

I, therefore, say I concur in the action of the people of Mississippi, believing it to be necessary and proper, and should have been bound by their action if my belief had been otherwise; and this brings me to the important point which I wish, on this last occasion, to present to the Senate. It is by this confounding of nullification and secession that the name of a great man, whose ashes now mingle with his mother earth, has been invoked to justify coercion against a seceded state. The phrase "to execute the laws" was an expression which General Jackson applied to the case of a state refusing to obey the laws while yet a member of the Union. That is not the case which is now presented. The laws are to be executed over the United States, and upon the people of the United States. They have no relation to any foreign country. It is a perversion of terms—at least, it is a great misapprehension of the case—which cites that expression for application to a state which

has withdrawn from the Union. You may make war on a foreign state. If it be the purpose of gentlemen, they may make war against a state which has withdrawn from the Union; but there are no laws of the United States to be executed within the limits of a seceded state. A state finding herself in the condition in which Mississippi has judged she is—in which her safety requires that she should provide for the maintenance of her rights out of the Union—surrenders all the benefits (and they are known to be many), deprives herself of the advantages (and they are known to be great), severs all the ties of affection (and they are close and enduring), which have bound her to the Union; and thus divesting herself of every benefit—taking upon herself every burden—she claims to be exempt from any power to execute the laws of the United States within her limits.

I well remember an occasion when Massachusetts was arraigned before the bar of the Senate, and when the doctrine of coercion was rife, and to be applied against her, because of the rescue of a fugitive slave in Boston. My opinion then was the same that it is now. Not in a spirit of egotism, but to show that I am not influenced in my opinions because the case is my own, I refer to that time and that occasion as containing the opinion which I then entertained, and on which my present conduct is based. I then said that if Massachusetts—following her purpose through a stated line of conduct—chose to take the last step which separates her from the Union, it is her right to go, and I will neither vote one dollar nor one man to coerce her back; but I will say to her, Godspeed, in memory of the kind associations which once existed between her and the other States.

It has been a conviction of pressing necessity, it has been a belief that we are to be deprived in the Union of the rights which our fathers bequeathed us, which has brought Mississippi to her present decision. She has heard proclaimed the theory that all men are created free and equal, and this made the basis of an attack upon her social institutions; and the sacred Declaration of Independence has been invoked to maintain the position of the equality of the races. That Declaration of Independence is to be construed by the circumstances and purposes for which it was made. The communities were

declaring their independence; the people of those communities were asserting that no man was born, to use the language of Mr. Jefferson, booted and spurred, to ride over the rest of mankind; that men were created equal, meaning the men of the political community; that there was no divine right to rule; that no man inherited the right to govern; that there were no classes by which power and place descended to families; but that all stations were equally within the grasp of each member of the body politic. These were the great principles they announced; these were the purposes for which they made their declaration; these were the ends to which their enunciation was directed. They have no reference to the slave; else, how happened it that among the items of arraignment against George III was that he endeavored to do just what the North has been endeavoring of late to do, to stir up insurrection among our slaves? Had the Declaration announced that the negroes were free and equal, how was the prince to be arraigned for raising up insurrection among them? And how was this to be enumerated among the high crimes which caused the colonies to sever their connection with the mother-country? When our Constitution was formed, the same idea was rendered more palpable; for there we find provision made for that very class of persons as property; they were not put upon the footing of equality with white men, not even that of paupers and convicts; but, so far as representation was concerned, were discriminated against as a lower caste, only to be represented in the numerical proportion of three-fifths. So stands the compact which binds us together.

Then, Senators, we recur to the principles upon which our Government was founded; and when you deny them, and when you deny to us the right to withdraw from the Government which, thus perverted, threatens to be destructive to our rights, we but tread in the paths of our fathers when we proclaim our independence and take the hazard. This is done, not in hostility to others, not to injure any section of the country, not even for our own pecuniary benefit, but from the high and solemn motive of defending and protecting the rights we inherited, and which it is our duty to transmit unshorn to our children.

I find in myself, perhaps, a type of the general feeling of

my constituents toward yours. I am sure I feel no hostility toward you, Senators from the North. I am sure there is no one of you, whatever sharp discussion there may have been between us, to whom I cannot now say, in the presence of my God, I wish you well; and such, I am sure, is the feeling of the people whom I represent toward those whom you represent. I, therefore, feel that I but express their desire when I say I hope and they hope for peaceable relations with you, though we must part. They may be mutually beneficial to us in the future, as they have been in the past, if you so will it. The reverse may bring disaster on every portion of the country, and if you will have it thus, we will invoke the God of our fathers, who delivered them from the power of the lion, to protect us from the ravages of the bear; and, thus putting our trust in God and in our firm hearts and strong arms, we will vindicate the right as best we may.

In the course of my service here, associated at different times with a great variety of Senators, I see now around me some with whom I have served long; there have been points of collision, but, whatever of offence there has been to me, I leave here. I carry with me no hostile remembrance. Whatever offence I have given which has not been redressed, or for which satisfaction has not been demanded, I have, Senators, in this hour of our parting, to offer you my apology for any pain which, in the heat of the discussion, I have inflicted. I go hence unincumbered by the remembrance of any injury received, and having discharged the duty of making the only reparation in my power for any injury offered.

Mr. President and Senators, having made the announcement which the occasion seemed to me to require, it only remains for me to bid you final adieu.

INAUGURAL ADDRESS OF PRESIDENT DAVIS

Delivered at the Capitol, Montgomery, Alabama, Monday, February 18, 1861.

GENTLEMEN of the Congress of the Confederate States of America—friends and fellow-citizens: Called to the difficult and responsible station of Chief Executive of the Provisional Government, which you have instituted, I approach the discharge of the duties assigned to me with an humble distrust of my abilities, but with a sustaining confidence in the wisdom of those who are to guide and to aid me in the administration of public affairs, and an abiding faith in the virtue and patriotism of the people.

Looking forward to the speedy establishment of a permanent Government to take the place of this, and which, by its greater moral and physical power, will be better able to combat with the many difficulties which arise from the conflicting interests of separate nations, I enter upon the duties of the office, for which I have been chosen, with the hope that the beginning of our career, as a Confederacy, may not be obstructed by hostile opposition to our enjoyment of the separate existence and independence which we have asserted, and, with the blessing of Providence, intend to maintain.

Our present condition, achieved in a manner unprecedented in the history of nations, illustrates the American idea that governments rest upon the consent of the governed, and that it is the right of the people to alter or abolish governments whenever they become destructive of the ends for which they were established.

The declared purpose of the compact of Union from which we have withdrawn, was "to establish justice, insure domestic tranquillity, provide for the common defence, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and posterity"; and when, in the judgment of the sovereign states now composing this Confederacy, it had been perverted from the purposes for which it was ordained, and had ceased to answer the ends for which it was established, a peaceful appeal to the ballot-box declared that, so far as they were concerned, the government created by that compact should cease to exist. In this they merely asserted a right which the Declara-

tion of Independence of 1776 had defined to be inalienable. Of the time and occasion for its exercise, they, as sovereigns, were the final judges, each for itself.

The impartial and enlightened verdict of mankind will vindicate the rectitude of our conduct, and He who knows the hearts of men will judge of the sincerity with which we labored to preserve the Government of our fathers in its spirit. The right solemnly proclaimed at the birth of the States, and which has been affirmed and reaffirmed in the Bills of Rights of States, subsequently admitted into the Union of 1789, undeniably recognizes in the people the power to resume the authority delegated for the purposes of government. Thus the sovereign States, here represented, proceeded to form this Confederacy, and it is by abuse of language that their act has been denominated a revolution. They formed a new alliance, but within each state its government has remained, and the rights of person and property have not been disturbed. The agent, through whom they communicated with foreign nations, is changed; but this does not necessarily interrupt their international relations.

Sustained by the consciousness that the transition from the former Union to the present Confederacy has not proceeded from a disregard on our part of just obligations, or any failure to perform any constitutional duty; moved by no interest or passion to invade the rights of others; anxious to cultivate peace and commerce with all nations, if we may not hope to avoid war, we may at least expect that posterity will acquit us of having needlessly engaged in it. Doubly justified by the absence of wrong on our part, and by wanton aggression on the part of others, there can be no cause to doubt that the courage and patriotism of the people of the Confederate States will be found equal to any measure of defence which honor and security may require.

An agricultural people—whose chief interest is the export of a commodity required in every manufacturing country, our true policy is peace and the freest trade which our necessities will permit. It is alike our interest, and that of all those to whom we would sell and from whom we would buy, that there should be the fewest practicable restrictions upon the interchange of commodities. There can be but little rivalry

between ours and any manufacturing or navigating community, such as the Northeastern States of the American Union. It must follow, therefore, that a mutual interest would invite good and kind offices. If, however, passion or the lust of dominion should cloud the judgment, or inflame the ambition of those states, we must prepare to meet the emergency and to maintain, by the final arbitrament of the sword, the position which we have assumed among the nations of the earth. We have entered upon the career of independence, and it must be inflexibly pursued. Through many years of controversy with our late associates, the Northern States, we have vainly endeavored to secure tranquillity, and to obtain respect for the rights to which we were entitled. As a necessity, not a choice, we have resorted to the remedy of separation; and henceforth our energies must be directed to the conduct of our own affairs and the perpetuity of the Confederacy which we have formed. If a just perception of mutual interest shall permit us peaceably to pursue our separate political career, my most earnest desire will have been fulfilled; but if this be denied us, and the integrity of our territory and jurisdiction be assailed, it will but remain for us, with firm resolve, to appeal to arms and invoke the blessings of Providence on a just cause.

As consequence of our new condition, and with a view to meet anticipated wants, it will be necessary to provide for the speedy and efficient organization of branches of the Executive Department, having special charge of foreign intercourse, finance, military affairs, and the postal service.

For purposes of defence, the Confederate States may, under ordinary circumstances, rely mainly upon the militia; but it is deemed advisable, in the present condition of affairs, that there should be a well-instructed and disciplined army, more numerous than would usually be required on a peace establishment. I also suggest that, for the protection of our harbors and commerce on the high seas, a navy adapted to those objects will be required. These necessities have doubtless engaged the attention of Congress.

With a Constitution differing only from that of our fathers in so far as it is explanatory of their well-known intent, freed from the sectional conflicts which have interfered with the pursuit of the general welfare, it is not unreasonable to expect

that states, from which we have parted, may seek to unite their fortunes with ours under the Government which we have instituted. For this your Constitution makes adequate provision; but beyond this, if I mistake not the judgment and will of the people, a reunion with the states from which we have separated is neither practicable nor desirable. To increase the power, develop the resources, and promote the happiness of a Confederacy, it is requisite that there should be so much of homogeneity that the welfare of every portion shall be the aim of the whole. Where this does not exist antagonisms are engendered which must and should result in separation.

Actuated solely by the desire to preserve our own rights and promote our own welfare, the separation of the Confederate States has been marked by no aggression upon others, and followed by no domestic convulsion. Our industrial pursuits have received no check, the cultivation of our fields has progressed as heretofore; and even should we be involved in war, there would be no considerable diminution of the production of the staples which have constituted our exports, and in which the commercial world has an interest scarcely less than our own. This common interest of the producer and consumer can only be interrupted by an exterior force, which should obstruct its transmission to foreign markets—a course of conduct which would be as unjust toward us as it would be detrimental to the manufacturing and commercial interests abroad. Should reason guide the action of the Government from which we have separated, a policy so detrimental to the civilized world, the Northern States included, could not be dictated by even the strongest desire to inflict injury upon us; but, if otherwise, a terrible responsibility will rest upon it, and the suffering of millions will bear testimony to the folly and wickedness of our aggressors. In the meantime, there will remain to us, besides the ordinary means before suggested, the well-known resources for retaliation upon the commerce of an enemy.

Experience in public stations, of subordinate grade to this which your kindness has conferred, has taught me that care and toil and disappointment are the price of official elevation. You will see many errors to forgive, many deficiencies to tolerate, but you shall not find in me either a want of zeal or fidelity to

the cause that is to me highest in hope and of the most enduring affection. Your generosity has bestowed upon me an undeserved distinction, one which I neither sought nor desired. Upon the continuance of that sentiment, and upon your wisdom and patriotism, I rely to direct and support me in the performance of the duty required at my hands.

We have changed the constituent parts, but not the system of our government. The Constitution formed by our fathers is that of these Confederate States, in their exposition of it; and, in the judicial construction it has received, we have a light which reveals its true meaning.

Thus instructed as to the just interpretation of the instrument, and ever remembering that all offices are but trusts held for the people, and that delegated powers are to be strictly construed, I will hope, by due diligence in the performance of my duties, though I may disappoint your expectations, yet to retain, when retiring, something of the goodwill and confidence which welcomed my entrance into office.

It is joyous in the midst of perilous times to look around upon a people united in heart; where one purpose of high resolve animates and actuates the whole—where the sacrifices to be made are not weighed in the balance against honor, and right, and liberty, and equality. Obstacles may retard—they cannot long prevent—the progress of a movement sanctified by its justice, and sustained by a virtuous people. Reverently let us invoke the God of our fathers to guide and protect us in our efforts to perpetuate the principles, which by His blessing they were able to vindicate, establish, and transmit to their posterity, and with a continuance of His favor ever gratefully acknowledged, we may hopefully look forward to success, to peace, and to prosperity.

MARY EVELYN MOORE DAVIS

[1852—]

WILLIAM B. SMITH

MARY EVELYN MOORE DAVIS was born at Talladega, Alabama, April 12, 1852. She was the only daughter of Dr. John Moore and Lucy Crutchfield. Her father, born at Oxford, Massachusetts, after receiving classical training and graduating in medicine, had removed to Alabama and there entered upon the practice of his profession. Her mother's family, sprung from a well-known Virginia stock, was resident in Chattanooga, Tennessee, and two of her maternal uncles, Thomas and William, attained the rank of colonel, the former in the Confederate, the latter in the Federal army. Her father distinguished himself as pioneer in the manufacture of iron in Alabama, discovering the ore in 1848, smelting it with charcoal, and forging it into bars under a trip hammer operated by water power. A few years before the outbreak of the war between the States, Dr. Moore removed to Texas with his family and possessions and engaged in the planting of cotton. It was there at La Rose Blanche Plantation, that the early years of Mary Evelyn were passed; there she received her training at the hands of private tutors, and there her precocious talent for versification began to display itself. In 1870, at the age of eighteen, she published at Houston her first volume, 'Minding the Gap, and Other Poems,' which attained much popularity and passed through several editions. In 1874 she was united in marriage with Major Thomas Edward Davis, now for many years the well-known editor of *The Daily Picayune*. The twain removed subsequently to New Orleans, and took up their residence in the centre of the old French Quarter, where now is slowly arising the gigantic form of the new City Court-house. Here for nearly a generation Mrs. Davis dwelt in a house historically famous, and fixed upon the life circling round her a gaze equally remarkable for its keenness, its steadiness, its persistence, and its loving sympathy. The boundless prairies of Texas, the wild, free, adventurous life of the border, the romantic history, the peculiar and imposing individuality of that continental State—all these preserved their fascination for Molly Moore Davis and found literary expression in more than one of her volumes; but it was the quaint old Crescent City, and the quainter Creole life that

won her fancy and possessed her heart. Admitted from the first, by her rare gifts of mind and manner, into the innermost circle of the most exclusive Creole society, she enjoyed advantages for the study of it that might well have excited the envy of even its most gifted delineator. These opportunities she exploited to the utmost, making herself for many years a vital part of that society, whose charms she learned to understand, to love, and to reproduce with rare fidelity in a long series of affectionate studies. At the same time, not being to the manner born, but drawing the streams of her life from distant and alien sources, she has been able to maintain a certain detachment and objectivity in point of view that lend especial value to her appreciations and characterizations. She has also been careful to lay a solid foundation of accurate knowledge beneath her most imaginative constructions, not hesitating to dedicate months of preliminary study to the ascertainment of some historical circumstance or the elucidation of some obscure tradition or custom connected with the plot of her story. The series of works in which Mrs. Davis has portrayed the life of Texas and Louisiana is the following: 'In War Times at La Rose Blanche Plantation' (Lothrop and Company, Boston); 'Under the Man-Fig' (Houghton, Mifflin and Company, Boston); 'An Elephant's Track, and Other Stories' (Harper and Brothers, New York, 1897); 'Under Six Flags' (Ginn and Company, Boston, 1898); 'The Wire Cutters' (Houghton, Mifflin and Company, 1899); 'The Queen's Garden' (Houghton, Mifflin and Company, Boston, 1900); 'Jaconetta' (Houghton, Mifflin and Company, Boston, 1901); 'The Little Chevalier' (Houghton, Mifflin and Company, Boston, 1905); 'The Price of Silence' (Houghton, Mifflin and Company, Boston, 1907); 'The Bunch of Roses' (Small and Maynard, Boston). Of these 'In War Times at La Rose Blanche Plantation' and 'Jaconetta' are largely autobiographical, both dealing with the early years of the author's life, but in a modest and unobtrusive fashion that enlists the liveliest interest of the reader in the many other characters that crowd her pages rather than in her own. 'Jaconetta' was the pet name for the sensitive, poetic, and imaginative child, whose nature began to unfold at La Rose Blanche during the agony of the national strife; it reminds one of the lines which nearly one hundred years before were sung or shouted on the streets of Ajaccio:

Napoleone di mezza calzetta,
Fece l'amore a Giaconetta.

'Under Six Flags' is a charmingly written child's history of the Lone Star State, in which the romantic features are brought out dis-

tinctly, and the mere annalistic details, without sacrifice of historical accuracy, are subordinated to humanistic interests and dramatic effect. It is in fact a *Tendenzschrift* well calculated to arouse the State pride of the Texan youth and stimulate him to achievement worthy of the descendant of such ancestry as he finds therein described. The life in Texas furnishes the background for two other books in this list: 'Under the Man-Fig' and 'The Wire Cutters,' both to be numbered with her more important works, both ably written, and both developing ingenious and rather complicated plots through which love stories of grace and charm are guided safely to the end. 'In the 'Queen's Garden' (a sweet flower exhaling its fragrance amid the tombs), is an idyl whose scene is laid in New Orleans, agonizing in the paroxysms of one of those fearful visitations of yellow fever, now, thanks to the explorations of science, numbered with the past forever. It is in 'The Little Chevalier,' by many regarded as her masterpiece, and 'The Price of Silence' that Mrs. Davis has made the most minute and painstaking study of Creole life, manners, and character. The former deals with those early days, in the middle of the Eighteenth Century, when the boundless colonial ambition of France stretched a long thin line of possessions, following the water courses of the St. Lawrence and the Mississippi, from the Atlantic Ocean to the Gulf of Mexico. It is a motley web of intrigue, ambition, adventure, war, treachery, devotion, death, with a great variety of incidents and characters, French, Indian, and African, and through all runs the golden thread of a romantic love. 'The Price of Silence' deals with the New Orleans of to-day, though the roots of the story reach back two generations into the past. The theme is not altogether pleasant; the tragedy of color is evoked and only deftly evaded at the close. Not every one will find the treatment satisfactory. Alone among Mrs. Davis's works this seems to bear some traces of haste in composition. Nor should this circumstance give occasion to wonder; for the book was written on a couch of pain, while the writer was suffering daily and almost continually from a most excruciating malady. Produced under such conditions, it seems the most noteworthy of her creations, as in fact it surpasses the rest in boldness of conception, in dramatic situations, and in sustained intensity of interest. But it may be questioned whether any of these longer works show their author at her very best. It is in the short-story, that form of literature originated and perfected by the coryphæus of Southern letters, that Mrs. Davis has perhaps achieved her most eminent success. Many of these were written for the northern monthlies, and a goodly number were collected and republished in 'An Elephant's Track and Other Stories.' Here she has introduced a great variety of *motifs* as well as of incidents and char-

acters. The lighter and more humorous aspects of life are her favorites, but the stern and terrible problems are occasionally handled with ruthless fidelity and power. As an example, we have chosen the "Love Stranche," which might have been written by Guy de Maupassant.

In all of her stories, both short and long, it is the pictorial effect that is chiefly sought and most successfully attained. Mrs. Davis leaves subtle psychologic analysis to others; while clearly recognizing, she is little concerned with, the problems of heredity and environment, of character evolution, and of the shuttlecock play of emotions and motives. The great elemental feelings in general suffice for her purposes. But she is especially desirous of producing a vivid picture in the mind of the reader; she wishes to depict a situation that shall be convincing in its lifelikeness and verisimilitude. To this end she summons all the resources of her own personal knowledge and observation, and employs all her powers of animated description. We know or may know the exact appearance of each of her multitudinous characters, the color and curl of the hair, the shape of the nose, lips, and chin, the poise of the head, the cut of the coat, the tone of the voice, and the thousand other details that set themselves together to make up the external personality. Not only this: but she reproduces with the minute exactness of a photograph all the topographical, botanical, and meteorological conditions of the moment in question; just how the road wound through the forest, how the river gleamed, how the shadows flitted, how the wistaria bloomed, the arbutus trailed, the magnolia breathed, the banana tree nodded; what streets were overflowed, what signs filled the shop windows, what portraits hung on the walls. One is reminded of some painting of Meissonier, some battle of Eylau, where the very buckles on the shoes of the grenadier are painted with microscopic care and conscientiousness. These descriptive passages are adorned with frequent felicity of epithet, and bear witness not only to a closely-observant eye, but to a nature quickly responsive to the moods and suggestions of the outer world. Almost equally prominent with this pictorial quality is the joy in narrative, *die Lust zu fabulieren*. The story-telling instinct is indeed very strong in Mrs. Davis. She plunges with her readers eagerly into the stream of events and is never more delighted than when borne along at its full flood. Very happy, too, is she in the employment of negro superstitions, which she uses not merely for artistic purposes, to enliven a scene or to impart local color to a situation, but also effectively often as causal agencies in the interlinkage of incidents constituting the plot of her story. She understands the negro character well, and loves to depict it in its more amiable and attractive phases. Her management of the negro

dialect is good, but she is discreetly sparing, however happy, in her use of such forms of illiterature. "Always delicately moving" along the upper walks of Creole society, she makes no attempt to vie with "Jack Lafaiance" in rendering the humbler and more amusing aspects. But especially in 'The Price of Silence' she has given some striking impressionistic sketches of the Creole temperament and peculiarities, and has introduced into the conversations certain Creole idioms and pronunciations, unobtrusively, but with fine artistic effect. Here, as elsewhere, she has held a tight rein upon herself, has offended no propriety, carefully observing due metes and bounds and remembering the ancient wisdom, Naught overmuch! No sectional feeling shows itself in Mrs. Davis's writings. Sidney Cortlandt may possibly appear unnecessarily detestable, but he is not a Northerner, he is a Southern renegade and degenerate. The gentleness of her nature appears in the fact that she is loth to visit great punishment even upon the chief of sinners, but often allows them to escape with less than poetic justice.

Mrs. Davis opened her literary career with a volume of verses, and her gift of numbers, while never very seriously cultivated, is one of her chief literary endowments. She is especially fortunate in her *vers de société* and poems of occasions, where her playful and nimble fancy and her great mastery of rhyme and rhythm show forth to advantage.

But whatever may be the merits of Molly Moore Davis as poet, romancist, novelettist, and historian, far greater than any or all of these is Molly Moore Davis, the woman. All the high qualities of her head are crowned and transcended by still higher qualities of her heart. For a whole generation occupied, not only in portraying, but still more in enacting the social life of a cosmopolitan city, she has exhibited all the excellences without any of the defects of the woman of society. Her modest home on Royal Street was the great commons of ability, the rendezvous of distinction, the rallying ground of all worthy forms of talent and achievement. For thirty years there has been scarcely a dweller in New Orleans, whether permanent or transient, who has "arrived" in any department of human effort, or who has courageously pursued noble ideals, who has not been entertained by Mrs. Davis with a charm and unaffected simplicity peculiarly her own. Her February Friday receptions were gala occasions, thronged with notabilities from far and near. Still more brightly and beneficently did her influence shine upon her fellow townswomen and more intimate associates. Seldom has any one been more universally beloved. Leadership has been continually pressed upon her, but strangely enough has never made her the object of the slightest jealousy or envy or detraction. The recognition has been

yielded almost instinctively to a general superiority and highmindedness, as well as sweetness that no reserve can long disguise even from a mere acquaintance. In the midst of the urgency neither of social functions nor of literary engagements has Mrs. Davis ever forgotten the gentler ministrations of mercy that so well become the woman. Her hand has always been outstretched toward the sorrowing and suffering. As "the craft of elves propitious hastes to help where help it can," her feet have been constantly turned toward the doors of sickness and mourning. With what calm and triumphant heroism she herself, always of fragile frame, has now for several years awaited the inevitable summons to and from another world, may be gathered from the last product of her pen, "The Forerunner," published in the *Atlantic Monthly*.

Now it is the fact that the personality of Mrs. Davis, being such as described, has passed over into her writings, that lends them a peculiar virtue, and for this reason it has been felt proper to dwell at some length on that personality itself. In reading her books, whether romantic or historic, one comes into conscious contact with a rare spirit, of singular sweetness, sympathy, purity, grace, and charm not unallied with energy and courage, with passion and with power. This moral quality pervading all her work goes hand in hand and fuses happily and almost inseparably with the genuine literary effect.

A handwritten signature in dark ink, reading "W. F. Smith". The signature is written in a cursive style with a large, sweeping initial "W" and a long, horizontal flourish extending to the right.

THE LOVE-STRANCHE

From 'An Elephant's Track and Other Stories.' Copyright, 1896, by Harper and Brothers. By permission.

"CAN you 'cunjur,' Maum Hagar?"

The words were carelessly spoken, but Hagar, keenly sensitive to every shade of feeling in her foster-son's voice, detected an unwonted thrill beneath their airy lightness.

The speaker was a tall, slightly built man about thirty years of age. His thin, sallow face was very handsome, though there were lines of dissipation about the dark, smiling eyes and the low forehead shaded by crisp, reddish-brown curls. His mouth, partly hidden by a drooping mustache, was rather feminine, but the smooth chin was firm almost to hardness.

His clothes were of irreproachable cut and fit; an air of high-bred ease pervaded his whole person as he swayed lightly to and fro in the low rocking-chair, fanning himself with a wide hat whose crown was encircled by a band of crape.

The old negress who stood before him in an attitude at once familiar and respectful was likewise tall and slender. Her brown, furrowed face beneath her gayly colored turban was curiously impassive; only the sunken eyes seemed alive. They glowed like smouldering fires within their half-closed lids. Her arms were folded across her breast; her bare feet and ankles were visible beneath her short, scant skirts.

There were signs of a past grandeur about the large room. A stucco frieze, representing a procession of mythological personages, ran around the dingy walls under the lofty ceiling. The arched windows were surmounted by elaborate moldings; the high wooden mantel, upheld by slim pillars of twisted brass, was delicately carved; the double doors, opening upon an inner gallery, were set with panels of stained glass.

The massive sideboard and the claw-footed tables, which in an earlier day furnished forth this ancient dining-hall, had long since disappeared. But the floor was clean; the humble bed, piled with wholesome-smelling unlaundered garments, was covered with a snow-white counterpane and orna-

mented with stiff, fringed valances; the hearth was reddened; the tall brass fire-dogs glistened like gold.

An ironing-board, with a partly ironed shirt upon it, was supported on the backs of two chairs near the fireplace; a charcoal furnace, with some flat-irons plunged into its bed of red coals, occupied a corner of the hearth.

Floyd Garth idly noted these commonplace details as he repeated his question, "Maum Hagar, can you 'conjur'?"

Old Hagar looked down at him a moment before speaking. "I ain't shore," she said, slowly, "dat I kin conjur to suit *you*, Mars Floyd. It 'pends on what you *wants*."

A flush darkened the young man's face; he shifted his position and cleared his throat.

"What is you honin' after, little Mars? You sholy ain't 'shamed to tell yo' black mammy, honey," she said, caressingly, her face suddenly losing its impassiveness.

He laughed gayly. "You make me half believe that I am a boy again, and back on the old plantation, mammy! Do you remember how I used to steal down to your cabin at the quarter when I wanted anything? And you never failed to get me what I wanted, either! The old cabin looks just as it did when you left it. How long has it been since you came away from Garth Place?"

"It's seventeen year come Christmas," she replied, huskily, as if a lump had arisen in her throat.

"Ah, yes! it was the year my father took me abroad. You came this far with us, I remember. How I yelled and kicked, half-grown boy as I was, when they tore me away from your arms! Yes, the old place remains the same in spite of all our drifting about. But now that my father is dead—it is just three weeks to-day since I saw him laid beside my mother in the old burying-ground at the plantation—now that he is gone, it is too dreary there. I shall place everything in the hands of the manager and live in the city myself. I may open the old town-house. You will come and keep house for me, eh, maum? Do you know, Maum Hagar," he continued, musingly, "I can just recollect living in that old house! My father closed it, I know, when my mother died. I was not more than three or four years old, was I? But I can dimly remember my pretty dark-eyed mother bending over me, with

her long curls falling about her shoulders, as they do in her portrait."

His reckless face had softened, his eyes were fixed upon the floor, and he did not see the sombre lightning which flashed into those gazing down upon him.

"And then my father gave me to your care, Maum Hagar."

"I nussed you fum de day you was bawn," she interrupted, fiercely.

"So you did, mammy," he said, heartily—"so, you did. And spoiled me well into the bargain. I must be going," he added, rising. "I have had a precious hunt for you this time, and I never would have found you if—" He checked himself suddenly; then asked, "How long have you been living in this tumble-down old rookery?"

"De cunjur, honey?" she said, ignoring his outstretched hand. "You axed me kin I cunjur."

The softened look vanished from the young man's face. "Yes," he said, setting his teeth together, "I want you to cunjur—a woman." His protruding chin had an ugly look and an uneasy fire burned in his eyes. "A woman, by God! who eludes me, and tantalizes me, and holds me at arm's-length, child though she is in years!" He was speaking more to himself than to his old nurse. She watched him with narrowing eyelids.

"Is it de love-spell you wants, or de hate-spell, honey?" she asked, moving a step nearer and laying her hand on his arm.

He laughed shortly. "Oh, the love-spell—first! What nonsense!" he continued, shrugging his shoulders. "It just came into my mind how they used to say up at Garth Place that you could *throw Wanga*. I was only joking. Good-bye, Maum Hagar. Come to me when you need anything." He dropped some silver coin into her apron-pocket, and turned to go.

"I'm goin' to fetch you de love-spell, little marse," she said, softly.

He seemed not to have heard her. "Where is Lisette?" he asked, as if prompted by a sudden thought. "She must be almost grown."

"Lisette is hired out," Hagar returned, in a preoccupied tone. "She's nigh on to seventeen year old, Lisette is."

She followed him out upon the gallery which overlooked the court, crossed and recrossed with flapping lines of wet garments, and watched him descend the shaky stair. He stopped to tap with his cane one of the great marble bath-tubs placed side by side on the slippery flag-stones. For this decayed and mildewed edifice had been, in the first quarter of the century, the luxuriantly appointed bath and club house of the *jeunesse dorée* of the old French quarter. He tossed a handful of nickels into the group of wide-eyed babies squatted within the tub, and nodded good-humoredly, in passing, to a cobbler standing in the doorway of one of the disused bath-cells.

"He's got all de ways of de Cunnel, his father," sighed the old woman, "fair a-drawin' de heart out'n yo' body, an' den not keerin' fer it when he gits it. I've ached a'ter him fer nigh thirty year, an' he ain't studied 'bout me, not sense he was weaned fum de breas', less'n he wants sompn!" She went back into her own room and closed the door. "So Cunnel Floyd Garth is dead," she muttered, pacing back and forth with rhythmic step. "What diffunce does dat make to old Hagar, now? But de boy is got to have what he *wants* ef I have to spill de las' drap o' blood in my body to git it fer him. Ez to de woman, white er black, dat is holdin' back fum him, ef I kin git my hands on her I'll twis' her neck same ez I twis' de neck of a chicken!" Her voice rose with sudden ferocity, and sank again to a hoarse whisper. "I kin *th'ow Wanga*, me! I knows de hate-spell!" She thrust her hand into her bosom and took out a small black sea-bean, highly polished, and fitted, like a miniature flask, with a silver stopper. She shook it lightly and held it to her ear as if to assure herself of its contents, and returned it to her bosom. "Yes, I knows de hate-spell. But I don't know de love-spell. I 'ain't had no *call* to use de love-spell, me!" The suggestion of a grim smile played over her withered lips. "But de boy is boun' to have what he *wants*. I mus' git dat love-spell fum Voodoo Jean!"

A few moments later she came out into the streets. The noonday sun was hot, though it was but the middle of Febru-

ary. The breeze that travelled along the narrow street was heavy with the perfume of the orange-trees abloom in the square a stone's-throw away. Swarms of barefooted children basked on the banquettes; they shouted after the old *blanchisseuse* in pure baby wantonness. She seemed as oblivious of them as of the older idlers lounging in doorways or dozing on the iron benches in the old *Place d'Armes*. She walked up the street, rigidly erect, and with a firm, brisk step, looking neither to right nor left, and presently turned into a dim corridor, which opened at the farther end into a small, ill-smelling, triangular court. The enclosing walls, formed by the rear of tall brick buildings, were pierced by doors and windows, whose heavy batten shutters were closed. A large archway on one side was boarded up; the huge spikes which clamped the cross-pieces were rusty, as if a century might have passed since they were driven in.

Hagar paused a moment and looked about her, as if taking her bearings; then she crossed the slimy brick pavement, and tapped upon a low door half hidden by the leaky cistern in a corner of the triangle. There was an interval of silence; then a light shuffling sound within, and the door was opened by an old negro. He was of almost gigantic proportions; the shrewd, repellent face was jet-black; the large, sensual mouth showed when open a double range of tusks rather than teeth of surprising whiteness; the small eyes shone beneath their bushy white brows. A red turban was twisted about his head; his coarse blue cotton shirt was open, exposing his massive, scarred chest. A necklet of oddly shaped bits of wood encircled his short throat; his feet were bare, and silver anklets tinkled on his brown ankles as he moved.

Hagar pushed past this forbidding figure and entered the small room.

Voodoo Jean regarded his visitor with mute, frowning inquiry. She turned back her sleeve without speaking, and pointed to a small tattoo-mark on her arm, just below the elbow. A quick gleam of intelligence leaped into his face. He uttered a guttural ejaculation and touched a similar hieroglyph on his own wrist. When they spoke it was in the gibberish-like tongue of their African forefathers.

The den in which they stood was bare, except for an arm-

chair placed by the single window, and a rude table, which was strewn with pebbles, bunches of feathers, bits of bone and straw, and knotted fragments of rope. Lighted candles in flat candlesticks burned at either end of the table. On a narrow shelf above the open fireplace there were two or three tattered books, a wooden rod bound with brass, and a small box with iron clasps. A peculiar musty odor permeated the damp, close apartment.

"Is it for a woman you desire the spell?" Voodoo Jean demanded, when Hagar had finished speaking.

"No, for a man," she replied, briefly.

He walked over to the mantel and opened the little box which stood there. "Those things"—he waved his hand contemptuously towards the table—"are for common and ignorant fools who must be fed with lies, and furnished with dead men's fingers, and lizard's blood, and graveyard worms. This"—he took from the rude casket a small white sea-shell, whose rosy lining glistened in the candlelight, and laid it in the yellow palm of his long, shapely hand—"this is for those who wear *the mark*." He touched with his forefinger the cipher upon his wrist.

Hagar approached eagerly.

"Stay!" He lifted a warning hand. "Is the man *of our blood*?" he demanded, with a searching look.

She hesitated; great drops of perspiration gathered upon her forehead; her lips opened in a vain attempt to speak. "Yes, yes!" she panted, as he made a movement to return the talisman to the box.

"I will help no dog of a white man to a woman," he said, with calm ferocity. "Take it, Woman of the Mark! Let him give it himself into the hand of the woman he desires. It is powerful. It cannot fail."

He dropped the shell, as he spoke, into her hand. She slipped it into the bosom of her dress, where the sea-bean was already lying.

He waved away the silver she offered him—the silver which her foster-son had given her at parting. She laid her lips humbly upon the tattoo-mark on his arm and went away. He stood on the threshold, and watched her pass across the court and turn into the alley. A look of contempt, not unmingled with

pity, rose for an instant into his cunning eyes. Then he re-entered his lair and closed the door.

II

Some one was singing in Hagar's room; the fresh voice went echoing about the ancient galleries and cobwebbed corridors. She heard it as she mounted the stair, and her face lightened. She opened the door and stood unnoticed on the threshold. "Lisette was bawn in freedom," she murmured, exultantly, "an' she cert'n'y *looks* it!"

The girl was bending over the ironing-board with a heavy iron in her hand; her calico frock was pinned back and her sleeves pushed up above her rounded elbows. She was tall, like her mother, but her slim figure had the tender and graceful outlines of youth. Her skin was almost abnormally white, the mixed blood showing only in the colorless cheeks, the large eyes with the purple, crescent-shaped shadows underneath them, the full, voluptuous lips, and the crinkly hair, which was drawn back from the low brow and woven into innumerable little plaits, each closely wound with cotton thread.

"Howd'ye, mammy," she cried, looking up brightly as the old woman entered. "You see, I've been doin' yo' ironin' whils I was waitin' for you to come home."

Hagar smiled at her affectionately. "Yo' arms is younger dan mine," she said. "Lawd! how de i'on do skim over dat shirt!"

"I can't stay," Lisette said, slipping the garment from the board and folding it deftly. "My madame sent me on a erran' an' I just run by to fetch you some cold vittles." She picked up her white sunbonnet.

"Dat's right," her mother remarked, following her to the door. "Don't fool erway yo' mistiss's time. An' min' you be a good gal, honey!"

"I will," laughed the girl, laying her soft arms about her mother's brown neck.

The next morning Hagar hung around the street corner near the hotel where Garth was stopping until she saw him come out. He repulsed her almost roughly when she produced the talisman. "Take it, little marse," she whispered, looking

furtively around. "It's de love-spell. You ha' to give it into de woman's hand yo'se'f. It's boun' to work."

"I don't want it," he said, averting his face. "Good God! Hagar, couldn't you see I was jesting? Besides, you don't know—" He stopped abruptly and walked up the street, leaving her staring vacantly after him, with the shell in her hand; but half a block away he turned and came swiftly back. "Where is the cursed thing, Hagar? Give it to me." He seized it fiercely. "I shall not use it," he continued, with a short laugh. "I am going away—up to Garth Place—abroad. I may be gone six months—a year, perhaps. I will come and see you as soon as I return." He shook her hand nervously and strode away.

"*He called me Hagar!*" said his nurse, looking after him with dazed eyes. "Fer de fus' time in his life, he called me *Hagar!*"

III

"Her mistiss mus' sholy bear a hard han' on Lisette," sighed the old washer-woman one morning nearly a month later. "I ain't seen de chile sence de day I come back fum Voodoo Jean, and foun' her over my i'nin'-board."

She spoke in a half-audible tone to herself, as she moved to and fro among her tubs in the court-yard.

"What for you no make-a yo' dotter work-a with-a you?" interrupted a swarthy, smiling Italian near by, her fine brown arms rising and falling in the white froth of the suds. "Me, when Cesca git-a grown"—she stooped to pat the round cheek of the half-naked cherub clinging to her skirts—"I wouldn' lef' her leaf-me for a hund'ed dolla', no!"

Hagar deigned no response. "Ef dey wasn't so many low-down Dagos an' triflin' niggers in dis cote-yard"—she glanced disdainfully at her loquacious neighbor, then at a buxom mulattress leaning over the gallery railing above, exchanging doubtful jests with the ear-ringed Sicilian who was washing vegetables at the hydrant—"ef dis cote-yard wa'n't so onchristian I'd fetch de chile home to-morrer. Praise de Lawd! here she come, now!"

There was a light foot-fall in the corridor, and Lisette appeared, threading her way daintily through the rubbish

that strewed the court, and through the net-work of lines overhead. "Run along, honey," Hagar called, cheerily. "Soon ez I wring out dis tubful an' pin up, I'll come."

Lisette, in a clean, cool, shadowy room above, took off her sunbonnet and drifted aimlessly about, touching a homely article here and there, and looking at it with absent eyes. A subtle change had taken place in her appearance. Her dress was the same—the dark blue calico gown and freshly ironed apron; the leather belt about her slender waist; the coarse shoes and cheap stockings. But a new and indefinable charm enveloped her; a languid grace pervaded her slow movements; an exultant light came and went in her dark eyes.

Her mother gazed at her in silence from the doorway.

"Whyn't you wrop yo' hair, Lisette?" she demanded, sharply.

A dull color rose in Lisette's cheek; her eyelids drooped; she raised her hands as if instinctively to her head. The twisted plaits had been combed out, and the wavy mass was drawn back into a loose knot at the nape of her neck; a fringe of crinkly curls fell over her forehead.

"I ain't had time to wrop it this mornin'." she said, half sullenly. "I've got sompn to do besides wrop my hair. The madame is down sick," she went on, volubly, "an' the children has all got the measles. I was 'fraid you might get on-easy, an' I come to let you know, mammy."

"I don't know when I can come again," she called up from the court-yard when she went away; and after she had reached the corridor she ran back to say, breathlessly, "I forgot to tell you, mammy! My madame don't allow me to have comp'ny now. So's I can't ask you to come till the children gets well. But don't you be oneasy."

"De chile seem like she low-sperrited," Hagar mused, unpinning the snowy, sweet-smelling clothes from the lines. "Her mistiss mus' sholy bear a hard han' on her. I'm gwine to hurry up my starchin' an' rough i'nin', so I kin go an' he'p take keer o' dem measly chillen. Comp'ny, *hump!* I ain't no comp'ny!"

It was late in the afternoon of the next day when she closed and locked her door behind her and went out into the street. She was a noticeable figure in her old-fashioned,

full-skirted, black bombazine gown, her spotless lace-edged kerchief and curiously knotted tignon. She moved along the uneven banquettes with a firm, quick step, but her form seemed to have lost some of its erectness, and her face had grown visibly older during the past month.

"Ef I could only see de boy!" she muttered. "I'm fair eatin' my heart out fer a sight of de boy! He called me *Hagar* fer de fus time in his life! He called me *Hagar*, an' den' lef' me d'out so much ez lookin' back over his shoulder!"

She had halted unconsciously. The corner was a quiet one; wide-eaved cottages and dingy shops shouldered each other along a maze of intersecting streets beyond. The tall church-spire above her cast its shadows across their pointed roofs. She leaned against the church-wall, her eyes fixed on the ground, her head upon her breast. She drew a long breath and looked around like one awakened from a dream.

"*Gawd-a-mighty!*" she cried, recoiling as if she had received a blow.

Facing the church, set back from the street and flanked on one side by a high wall that inclosed one of those quaint gardens still to be found in the very heart of the French quarter, stood an old-fashioned brick mansion, with wide verandas, long, high windows, and steep, dormer-windowed roof. It had been newly painted; the iron grille which barred the corridor on one side of the house was tipped with fresh gilding. The window-shutters were flung back; filmy curtains within were swaying in the light breeze; a bird-cage hung in a shaded corner of the upper gallery.

A silver plate on the front door bore the name *Floyd Garth*.

Hagar drew her sleeve across her eyes and stared again. Her face twitched; a sob rose in her throat. "I didn't know wher' I wuz. De ole house! De ole house! Where de slave was trod onderfoot!"

The words came in broken jerks that seemed to tear her breast.

"De mistiss in de front room. De slave in de kitchen. Sarah in de tent. Hagar in de wilderness. Twenty-five year an' mo' sence I've seen de sin-stained house! Twenty-five year and mo' sence de slave watched de mistiss twis'

herse'f on her big fo'-pos' bed an' die! . . . Die in yo' tent, Sarah! Twis' yo'se'f on yo' bed an' die! . . . But de boy is mine—de curly hair, roun'-cheek boy, wi' his arms roun' Hagar's neck!"

Her voice softened as she uttered the last words; a smile of unutterable tenderness played about her mouth. She walked on mechanically, but turned as if struck by a new thought. "De boy must ha' come back," she murmured. "He sholy is come back! He's done open up de ole house! He's been studyin' 'bout what he said when he ax me to come an' keep house fer him. He ain't fergot his black mammy! He didn't mean nothin' when he called me Hagar! *He loves me!* . . . It's been a long time sence ole Hagar has cried fer joy," she whispered, wonderingly, staring at the drops which splashed on the back of her hand. "Mebby he's in de ole house now—in de ole house where he was bawn! Lessn he's gone down to de ole cote-yard to fetch me home!"

She crossed the street, half-running. The grille was unlocked; she pushed it open and went in. The long-flagged corridor was filled with purple shadows; a little stream of yellow river-water ran along by the wall, and fell with a gurgling sound into the open gutter outside. Within the wide court a low-branched magnolia was in bloom, the great white cups pouring their pungent incense upon the air; a row of annunciation lilies bloomed at the foot of the garden-wall. A thin spray of water arose from a fountain set in the midst of prim, white-shelled walks, and fell noiselessly into a mossy marble basin. A hammock was slung on an overhanging balcony; a wicker chair knotted with ribbons was placed beside it.

The kitchen door beyond the court stood open and a fire burned in the range, but there was no one in sight. Hagar hesitated, looking around. A hall door stood open and a negro lad came out of the house; he carried a silver tray with a long-stemmed goblet upon it.

"Miss July Jackson, de cook, has jes' stepped roun' de cornder, m'am," he said, politely; "she'll be back in a minit."

"I ain't come to see no cook," said Hagar, haughtily. "I come to see Mr. Floyd Garth. Is he at home?"

"No'm," replied the boy, overawed by her manner, "he

ain't come yit. *Dough* he ginerally comes in' 'bout dis time, m'am. But de madame, she's at home. *Dough* I don't spec' she wanten be *dis-turb*. But I'll ax her kin you see her, m'am. *Dough*—"

Hagar put him aside unceremoniously. "I nussed Mr. Floyd Garth fum de day he was bawn," she said, "an' de madame 'll be glad to see Mr. Floyd's black mammy."

"De shell 'aint failed in its work," she breathed triumphantly, threading her way through one well-remembered room after another, heedless of the familiar objects they contained. "De curly hair boy has got what he *want*. An' it was old Hagar gin him de love-spell! He's gwine to turn his sof' laughin' eyes on me like he useter, an' say: 'Mammy, you gits me what I *want*. I love you, mammy!' Ez to de madame—" She laughed significantly, with her hand on a fold of the heavy portière.

She lifted the curtain.

On the wall just opposite were the portraits of the late Colonel Floyd Garth and his wife—the one blue-eyed and blonde, with a somewhat haughty turn to his patrician head; the other, dark, fragile, and beautiful in her wedding-gown of shimmering silk. Between them hung a medallion portrait of their only son, Floyd—an exquisite, angelic head, set in an aureole of luminous cloud.

Nothing surely had changed here in all these years: the same big canopied bed in the alcove, the rosewood work-table by the window, the high-backed sofa and deep-bosomed chairs, the dainty *peignoir* thrown across the foot of a lounge with a man's coat tossed carelessly beside it!

A woman was standing in front of the muslin-draped Psyche mirror. Her back was turned towards the door. A cloud of mist-like white drapery enveloped the slight figure; there was a gleam of gold in the dusky hair; her arms were stretched above her head, the filmy sleeves falling away from them, leaving them bare to the shoulders; the wrists were encircled with bracelets; the shoulders rose dimpled and shining above the loose, low gown.

She turned at the slight noise.

"*Lisette!*" The name broke in a hoarse whisper from the mother's lips.

"*Lisette!*" She dropped the curtain and stepped into the room, glaring about her like a wild animal, her lips frothing, the veins of her neck swelling, her whole body quivering.

The girl gazed at her with horror-stricken eyes, a bluish pallor creeping into her face.

A door closed somewhere, jarring the stillness. A step sounded on the bare, polished floor of the hall outside, a hand thrust the portière aside, and Floyd Garth appeared. His face, flushed with his walk, wore a look of boyish pleasure. He stopped, confused and uncertain, on the threshold. The flower which he held dropped from his fingers.

At sight of him a low, appealing moan escaped Lisette's lips. She started forward with outstretched arms; but an imperious gesture from Hagar restrained her, and she sank, trembling, into a chair, and leaned her head against the high back.

The shell attached to a slender gold chain about her neck rose and fell with the frightened heaving of her bosom.

Hagar lifted her shrivelled arms. "De Voodoo spell has done its work," she said, looking sternly at the master of the house. "It has help you to de woman you *want*. But de spell ain't finish' yet. Dis half is for you, little Mars Floyd! De yether half is fer de gal, Lisette! Dis half is de spell of Voodoo Jean. De yether half is de spell of old Hagar." She paused, glancing around the room as if in search of something. Her eyes fell upon a silver filigree basket on the window-ledge filled with fruit. She crossed the room hurriedly and took an orange from it. The two young people watched her with fascinated eyes while she swiftly stripped off the golden rind and parted the pulpy layers within.

"Has you ever heerd tell of de *love-stranche*, little Mars Floyd?" she asked, with a sort of ferocious lightness. "*Dey say* it's de mos' certain of all de love-spells."

She held out between her thumb and forefinger one of those small crescent-shaped sections known locally as the *tranche d'amour*, the "love-slice."

Garth, rooted to the spot where he stood, was vaguely aware of a quick movement of her hand to her bosom. He saw, as if in a hideous nightmare, wherein he was numb and helpless, some dark shining object gleam for a second in the

long fingers. His eyes followed her panther-like spring to where Lisette lay panting in the high-backed chair.

"De spell of Voodoo Jean for one. De love-stranche of Hagar for de yether. De love-stranche is de stronges'. A'ter you try de love-stranche you don't ax for no mo' love-spells—nor hate-spells!"

She stooped over the girl, whose large eyes were rolling wildly.

Garth saw Lisette's blanched lips open, the tiny morsel drop upon her dry tongue, her throat contract in the effort to swallow.

Hagar looked down at her, mute and rigid. A second of silence followed, broken only by the soft pad of the negro lad's bare feet on the floor without, and the airy tinkle of ice in a goblet. Then a short, sharp shriek rang through the room; a gasp shook the slight form in the chair, running like an electric thrill along her limbs; a wave of purple mounted to her face and neck, and receded; the eyes closed, the head fell back. The gold band, loosened from the dark locks, rolled to the carpeted floor.

"God Almighty! Fiend! Devil! What have you done?" Garth's hand was upon the old woman's throat, and he was shaking her to and fro in a frenzy of wrath and anguish. "She is my *wife*! Do you hear me? She would not listen to me until my mother's wedding-ring was on her finger! She is my wedded wife!"

She shook him off with a strength far beyond his own. His words evidently fell on unheeding ears. She stooped quietly and lifted the arm of her dead child, passing her hand gently over the smooth wrist. Then she let it fall, and, drawing herself up to her full height, she turned with a savage cry upon the man whose wild eyes were fixed upon her. "You axed me kin I conjur," she said, in a terrible voice. "Yes, *son of Cunnel Floyd Garth and his slave Hagar—yes, I kin conjur!*"

THE SOUL OF ROSE DÉDÉ

From 'An Elephant's Track and Other Stories.' Copyright, 1896, by Harper and Brothers. Permission given.

THE child pushed his way through the tall weeds, which were dripping with the midsummer-eve midnight dew-melt. He was so little that the rough leaves met above his head. He wore a trailing white gown whose loose folds tripped him, so that he stumbled and fell over a sunken mound. But he laughed as he scrambled to his feet—a cooing baby laugh, taken up by the inward-blowing Gulf wind, and carried away to the souging pines that made a black line against the dim sky.

His progress was slow, for he stopped—his forehead gravely puckered, his finger in his mouth—to listen to the clear whistle of a mocking-bird in the live-oak above his head; he watched the heavy flight of a white night-moth from one jimson-weed trumpet to another; he strayed aside to pick a bit of shining punk from the sloughing bark of a rotten log; he held this in his closed palm as he came at last into the open space where the others were.

“Holà, 'Tit-Pierre!” said André, who was half reclining on a mildewed marble slab, with his long black cloak floating loosely from his shoulders, and his hands clasped about his knees. “Holà! Must thou needs be ever a-searching! Have I not told thee, little Hard-Head, that she hath long forgotten thee?”

His voice was mocking, but his dark eyes were quizzically kind.

The child's under-lip quivered, and he turned slowly about. But Père Lebas, sitting just across the narrow footway, laid a caressing hand on his curly head. “Nay, go thy way, 'Tit-Pierre,” he said, gently; “André does but tease. A mother hath never yet forgot her child.”

“Do you indeed think he will find her?” asked André, arching his black brows incredulously.

“He will not find her,” returned the priest. “Margot Caillion was in a far country when I saw her last, and even then her grandchildren were playing about her knees. But it harms not the child to seek her.”

They spoke a soft provincial French, and the familiar *thou* betokened an unwonted intimacy between the hollow-cheeked old priest and his companion, whose forehead wore the frankness of early youth.

"I would the child could talk!" cried the young man, gayly. "Then might he tell us somewhat of the women that ever come and go in yonder great house."

The priest shuddered, crossing himself, and drew his cowl over his face.

'Tit Pierre, his gown gathered in his arm, had gone on his way. Nathan Pilger, hunched up on a low, irregular hummock against the picket-fence, made a speaking-trumpet of his two horny hands, and pretended to hail him as he passed. 'Tit-Pierre nodded brightly at the old man, and waved his own chubby fist.

The gate sagged a little on its hinges, so that he had some difficulty in moving it. But he squeezed through a narrow opening, and passed between the prim flower-beds to the house.

It was a lofty mansion, with vast wings on either side, and wide galleries, which were upheld by fluted columns. It faced the bay, and a covered arcade ran from the entrance across the lawn to a gay little wooden kiosk, which hung on the bluff over the water's edge. A flight of stone steps led up to the house. 'Tit-Pierre climbed these laboriously. The great carved doors were closed, but a blind of one of the long French windows in the west wing stood slightly ajar. 'Tit-Pierre pushed this open. The bed-chamber into which he peered was large and luxuriously furnished. A lamp with a crimson shade burned on its claw-footed gilt pedestal in a corner; the low light diffused a rosy radiance about the room. The filmy curtains at the windows waved to and fro softly in the June night wind. The huge old-fashioned four-posted bed, overhung by a baldachin of carved wood with satin linings, occupied a deep alcove. A woman was sleeping there beneath the lace netting. The snow-white bed-linen followed the contours of her rounded limbs, giving her the look of a recumbent marble statue. Her black hair, loosed from its heavy coil, spread over the pillow. One exquisite bare arm lay across her forehead, partly concealing her face. Her measured breathing rose and fell rhythmically on the air. A

robe of pale silk that hung across a chair, dainty lace-edged garments tossed carelessly on an antique lounge—these seemed instinct still with the nameless, subtle grace of her who had but now put them off.

On a table by the window, upon whose threshold the child stood a-tiptoe, was set a large crystal bowl filled with water-lilies. Their white petals were folded; the round, red-lined green leaves glistened in the lamp-light. One long bud, rolled tightly in its green and brown sheath, hung over the fluted edge of the bowl, swaying gently on its flexible stem. 'Tit-Pierre gazed at it intently, frowning a little, then put out a small forefinger and touched it. A quick thrill ran along the stem; the bud moved lightly from side to side and burst suddenly into bloom; the slim white petals quivered; a tremulous, sighing, whispering sound issued from the heart of gold. The child listened, holding the fragrant disk to his pink ear, and laughed softly.

He moved about the room, examining with infantile curiosity the costly objects scattered upon small tables and ranged upon the low, many-shelved mantel.

Presently he pushed a chair against the foot of the bed, climbed upon it, lifted the netting, and crept cautiously to the sleeper's side. He sat for a moment regarding her. Her lips were parted in a half-smile; the long lashes which swept her cheeks were wet, as if a happy tear has just trembled there. 'Tit-Pierre laid his hand on her smooth wrist, and touched timidly the snowy globes that gleamed beneath the open-work of her night-dress. She threw up her arm, turning her face full upon him, unclosed her large, luminous eyes, smiled, and slept again.

With a sigh, which seemed rather of resignation than of disappointment, the child crept away and clambered again to the floor.

. . . Outside the fog was thickening. The dark waters of the bay lapped the foot of the low bluff; their soft, monotonous moan was rising by imperceptible degrees to a higher key. The scrubby cedars, leaning at all angles over the water, were shaken at intervals by heavy puffs of wind, which drove the mist in white, ragged masses across the shelled road, over the weedy neutral ground, and out into the

tops of the sombre pines. The red lights in a row of sloops at anchor over against Cat Island had dwindled to faintly glimmering sparks. The watery flash of the revolving light in the light-house off the point of the island showed a black wedge-shaped cloud stretching up the seaward sky.

Nathan Pilger screwed up his eye and watched the cloud critically. André followed the direction of his gaze with idle interest, then turned to look again at the woman who sat on a grassy barrow a few paces beyond Père Lebas.

"She has never been here before," he said to himself, his heart stirring curiously. "I would I could see her face!"

Her back was towards the little group; her elbow was on her knee, her chin in her hand. Her figure was slight and girlish; her white gown gleamed ghost-like in the wan light.

"Naw, I bain't complainin', nor nothin'," said the old sailor, dropping the cloud, as it were, and taking up a broken thread of talk; "hows'ever, it's tarnation wearyin' a-settin' here so studdy year in an' year out. Leas'ways," he added, shifting his seat to another part of the low mound, "fer an old sailor sech as I be."

"If one could but quit his place and move about, like 'Tit-Pierre yonder," said André, musingly, "it would not be so bad. For myself, I would not want—"

"The child is free to come and go because his soul is white. There is no stain upon 'Tit-Pierre. The child hath not sinned." It was the priest who spoke. His voice was harsh and forbidding. His deep-set eyes were fixed upon the tall spire of Our Lady of the Gulf, dimly outlined against the sky beyond an intervening reach of clustering roofs and shaded gardens.

André stared at him wonderingly, and glanced half furtively at the stranger, as if in her presence, perchance, might be found an explanation of the speaker's unwonted bitterness of tone. She had not moved. "I would I could see her face!" he muttered, under his breath. "For myself," he went on, lifting his voice, "I am sure I would not want to wander far. I fain would walk once more on the road along the curve of the bay; or under the pines, where little white patches of moonlight fall between the straight, tall tree-trunks. And I

would go sometimes, if I might, and kneel before the altar of Our Lady of the Gulf."

Nathan Pilger grunted contemptuously. "What a lan'lubber ye be, Andry!" he said, his strong nasal English contrasting oddly with the smooth foreign speech of the others. "What a lan'lubber ye be! Ye bain't no sailor, like your father afore ye. Tony Dewdonny hed as good a pair o' sea-legs as ever I see. Lord! if there wa'n't no diffickulties in the way, Nathan Pilger 'd ship fer some port a little more furrin than the shadder of Our Lady yunder! Many's the deck I've walked," he continued, his husky voice growing more and more animated, "an' many's the vi'ge I've made to outlandish places. Why, you'd oughter see Arkangel, Andry. Here's the north coast o' Rooshy"—he leaned over and traced with his forefinger the rude outlines of a map on the ground; the wind lifted his long, gray locks and tossed them over his wrinkled forehead; "here's the White Sea; and here, off the mouth of the Dewiny River, is Arkangel. The Rooshan men in that there town, Andry, wears petticoats like women; whilst down here, in the South Pacific, at Taheety, the folks don't wear no clo'es at all to speak of! You'd oughter see Taheety, Andry. An' here, off Guinea—"

"All those places are fine, no doubt," interrupted his listener, "Arkangel and Taheetee and Guinee—his tongue tripped over the unfamiliar names—"but, for myself, I do not care to see them. I find it well on the bay shore here, where I can see the sloops come sailing in through the pass, with the sun on their white sails. And the little boats that rock on the water! Do you remember, Silvain," he cried, turning to the priest, "how we used to steal away before sunrise in my father's little fishing-boat, when we were boys, and come back at night with our backs blistered by the sun and our arms aching, hein? That was before you went away to France to study for the priesthood. Ah, but those were good times!" He threw back his head and laughed joyously. His dark hair, wet with the mist, lay in loose rings on his forehead; his fine young face, beardless but manly, seemed almost lustrous in the pale darkness. "Do you remember, Silvain? Right where the big house stands, there was Jacques Caillion's steep-roofed cottage, with the garden in front full of pinks and mignonette

and sweet herbs; and the vine-hung porch where 'Tit-Pierre used to play, and where Margot Caillion used to stand shading her eyes with her arm, and looking out for her man to come home from sea."

"Jack Caillion," said Nathan Pilger, "was washed overboard from the *Suzanne* in a storm off Hatteras in '11—him and Dunc Cook and Ba'tist' Roux."

"The old church of Our Lady of the Gulf," the young man continued, "was just a stone's-throw this side of where the new one was built; back a little is our cottage, and your father's, Silvain; and in the hollow beyond Justin Roux has his blacksmith's forge."

He paused, his voice dying away almost to a whisper. The waves were beating more noisily against the bluff, filling the silence with a sort of hoarse plaint; the fog—gray, soft, impenetrable—rested on them like a cloud. The moisture fell in an audible drip-drop from the leaves and the long, pendent moss of the live-oaks. A mare, with her colt beside her, came trotting around the bend of the road. She approached within a few feet of the girl, reared violently, snorting, and dashed away, followed by the whinnying colt. The clatter of their feet echoed on the muffled air. The girl, in her white dress, sat rigidly motionless, with her face turned seaward.

André lifted his head and went on, dreamily: "I mind me, most of all, of one day when all the girls and boys of the village walked over to Bayou Galère to gather water-lilies. Margot Caillion, with 'Tit-Pierre in her hand, came along to mind the girls. You had but just come back from France in your priest's frock, Silvain. You were in the church door when we passed, with your book in your hand." A smothered groan escaped the priest, and he threw up his arm as if to ward off a blow. "And you were there when we came back at sunset. The smell of the pines that day was like balm. The lilies were white on the dark breast of the winding bayou. Rose Dédé's arms were heaped so full of lilies that you could only see her laughing black eyes above them. But Lorange would only take a few buds. She said it was a kind of sin to take them away from the water where they grew. Lorange was ever—"

The girl had dropped her hands in her lap, and was listen-

ing. At the sound of her own name she turned her face towards the speaker.

"*Lorance!*" gasped André. "Is it truly you, Lorance?"

"Yes, it is I, André Dieudonné," she replied, quietly. Her pale girlish face, with its delicate outlines, was crowned with an aureole of bright hair, which hung in two thick braids to her waist; her soft brown eyes were a little sunken, as if she had wept overmuch. But her voice was strangely cold and passionless.

"But. . . when did you . . . come, Lorance?" André demanded breathlessly.

"I came," she said, in the same calm, measured tone, "but a little after you, André Dieudonné. First 'Tit-Pierre, then you, and then myself."

"Why, then—" he began. He rose abruptly, gathering his mantle about him, and leaned over the marble slab where he had been sitting. "'*Sacred to the memory of André Antoine Marie Dieudonné,*'" he read, slowly, slipping his finger along the mouldy French lettering, "'*who died at this place August 20th, 1809. In the 22d year of his age.*" Eighty years and more ago I came!" he cried. "And you have been here all these years, Lorance, and I have not known! Why, then, did you never come up?"

She did not answer at once. "I was tired," she said, presently, "and I rested well down there in the cool, dark silence. And I was not lonely . . . at first, for I heard Margot Caillion passing about, putting flowers above 'Tit-Pierre and you and me. My mother and yours often came and wept with her for us all—and my father, and your little brothers. The sound of their weeping comforted me. Then . . . after a while . . . no one seemed to remember us any more."

"Margot Caillion," said Nathan Pilger, "went back, when her man was drowned, to the place in France where she was born. The others be all layin' in the old church-yard yunder on the hill . . . all but Silvann Leebaw an' me."

She looked at the old man and smiled gravely. "A long time passed," she went on, slowly. "I could sometimes hear you speak to 'Tit-Pierre, André Dieudonné; . . . and at last some men came and dug quite near me; and as they pushed their spades through the moist turf they talked about the good

Père Lebas; and then I knew that Silvain was coming." The priest's head fell upon his breast; he covered his face with his hands and rocked to and fro on his low seat. "Not long after, Nathan Pilger came. Down there in my narrow chamber I have heard above me, year after year, the murmur of your voices on St. John's eve, and ever the feet of 'Tit-Pierre, as he goes back and forth seeking his mother. But I cared not to leave my place. For why should I wish to look upon your face, André Dieudonné, and mark there the memory of your love for Rose Dédé?"

Her voice shook with a sudden passion as she uttered the last words. The hands lying in her lap were twisted together convulsively; a flush leaped into her pale cheeks.

"Rose Dédé!" echoed André, amazedly. "Nay, Lorange, but I never loved Rose Dédé! If she perchance cared for me—"

"Silence, fool!" cried the priest, sternly. He had thrown back his cowl; his eyes glowed like coals in his white face; he lifted his hand menacingly. "Thou wert ever a vain puppet, André Dieudonné. It was not for such as thou that Rose Dédé sinned away her soul! Was it *thou* she came at midnight to meet in the lone shadows of these very live-oaks? Hast *thou* ever worn the garments of a priest? . . . They shunned Rose Dédé in the village . . . but the priest said mass at the altar of Our Lady of the Gulf, . . . and the wail of the babe was sharp in the hut under the pines, . . . and it ceased to breathe, . . . and the mother turned her face to the wall and died, . . . and my heart was cold in my breast as I looked on the dead faces of the mother and the child. . . . They lie under the pine-trees by Bayou Galère. But the priest lived to old age; . . . and when he died, he durst not sleep in consecrated ground, but fain would lie in the shadows of the live-oaks, where the dark eyes of Rose Dédé looked love into his."

His wild talk fell upon unheeding ears. 'Tit-Pierre had come out of the house. He was nestling against Nathan Pilger's knee. He held a lily-bud in one hand, and with the other he caressed the sailor's weather-beaten cheek.

"'Tit-Pierre," whispered the old man, "that is Lorange Baudrot. Do you remember her, 'Tit-Pierre?" The child smiled intelligently. "Lorange was but a slip of a girl when I

come down here from Cape Cod—cabin-boy aboard the *Mary Ann*. She was the pretties' lass on all the bay shore. An' I—I loved her, 'Tit-Pierre. But I wa'n't no match agin Andry Dewdonny; an' I know'd it from the fust. Andry was the likelies' lad hereabout, an' the harnsomes'. I see that Lorance loved him. An' when the yaller-fever took him, I see her a-droopin' an' a-droopin' tell she died, an' she never even know'd I loved her. Her an' Andry was laid here young, 'Tit-Pierre, 'longside o' you. I lived ter be pretty tol'able old; but when I hed made my last v'ige, an' was about fetchin' my las' breath, I give orders ter be laid in this here old buryin'-groun' som'er's clost ter the grave o' Lorance Baudrot."

His voice was overborne by André's exultant tones. "Lorance!" he cried, "did you indeed love me?—*me!*"

Her dark eyes met his frankly, and she smiled.

"Ah, if I had only known!" he sighed—if I had only known, Lorance, I would surely have lived! We would have walked one morning to Our Lady of the Gulf, with all the village-folk about us, and Silvain—the good Père Labas—would have joined our hands. . . . My father would have given us a little plot of ground; . . . you would have planted flowers about the door of our cottage; . . . our children would have played in the sand under the bluff. . . ."

A sudden gust of wind blew the fog aside, and a zigzag of flame tore the wedge-shaped cloud in two. A greenish light played for an instant over the weed-grown spot. The mocking-bird, long silent in the heart of the live-oak, began to sing.

"All these years you have been near me," he murmured, reproachfully, "and I did not know." Then, as if struck by a breathless thought, he stretched out his arms imploringly. "I love you, Lorance," he said. "I have always loved you. Will you not be my wife now? Silvain will say the words, and 'Tit-Pierre, who can go back and forth, will put this ring, which was my mother's, upon your finger, and he will bring me a curl of your soft hair to twist about mine. I cannot come to you, Lorance; I cannot even touch your hand. But when I go down into my dark place I can be content dreaming of you. And on the blessed St. John's eves I will know you are mine, as you sit there in your white gown."

As he ceased speaking, Père Lebas, with his head upon his breast, began murmuring, as if mechanically, the words which preface the holy sacrament of marriage. His voice faltered, he raised his head, and a cry of wonder burst from his lips. For André had moved away from the mouldy gravestone and stood just in front of him. Lorange, as if upborne on invisible wings, was floating lightly across the intervening space. Her shroud enveloped her like a cloud, her arms were extended, her lips were parted in a rapt smile. Nathan Pilger, with 'Tit-Pierre in his arms, had limped forward. He halted beside André, and as the young man folded the girl to his breast, the child reached over and laid an open lily on her down-drooped head.

The priest stared wildly at them, and struggled to rise, but could not. As he sank panting back upon the crumbling tomb, his anguish overcame him. "My God!" he groaned hoarsely, "I, only I, cannot move from my place. *The soul of Rose Dédé hangs like a millstone about my neck!*"

Even as he spoke, the cloud broke with a roar. The storm—black, heavy, thunderous—came rushing across the bay. It blotted out, in a lightning's flash, the mansion which stands on the site of Jacques Caillion's hut, and the weed-grown, ancient, forgotten graveyard in its shadow. . . . And a bell in the steeple of Our Lady of the Gulf rang out the hour.

COUNSEL

If thou shouldst bid thy friend farewell,
But for one night though that farewell should be,
Press thou his hand in thine; how canst thou tell
How far from thee
Fate, or caprice, may lead his feet
Ere that to-morrow come? Men have been known
Lightly to turn the corner of a street,
And days have grown
To months, and months to lagging years,
Before they looked in loving eyes again.
Parting, at best, is underlaid with tears—
With tears and pain.

Therefore, lest sudden death should come between,
Or time, or distance, clasp with pressure true
The palm of him who goeth forth. Unseen,
Fate goeth, too!

Yea, find thou always time to say
Some earnest word betwixt the idle talk,
Lest with thee henceforth, night and day,
Regret should walk.

THE PASSING OF THE ROSE

What goes
With the passing of the rose?
What, with the fading of the grass?
Alas,
The greenness and the glory of the blade
That burst its sheath, and leaped forth unafraid,
Exulting in the sunshine and the shade!
And ah, the flush
Of summer roses, vivid in the hush
Of moon, or pale with passion in the night!
Perfume and color! Radiance and delight!

The greenness and the glory go, alas,
With the fading of the grass.
A rapture unmeasurable goes
With the passing of the rose.

What goes
When the white eyelids close?
What, when the white feet pass?
Alas,
The golden splendor of her hair, love-blest!
The warm white sweetness of her pulsing breast!
The warm red sweetness from her lip,
Whereon the smile that all her soul confessed
Dwelt holily! Her voice, sweet as the slip
Of Southern waters under Southern skies!
And, ah, the heavenly blueness of her eyes!

The splendor and the music go, alas,
When the white feet pass.
A gladness unimagined goes
When the white eyelids close.

What stays
When the fair rose decays?
What, when the grass lies faded on the sod?
Dear God,
What stays? A singing sunshine in the brain!
A memory of hill-slopes under rain,
Bird-wing and butterfly about the plain!
A dream of swaying stems, where roses red
Stand tall and stately in the garden bed,
Of petals dropping softly by the wall,
Full softly, as the snow-white eyelids fall!

These blessings stay, dear God,
Though all the grass lies withered on the sod.
A glow imperishable stays,
Though the fair rose decays,

What stays
When Life has gone Death's ways?
What, when her breast upholds the sod?
Dear God,
All things abide which Thou hast wrought for good!
What stays? The glory of her womanhood,
The joy that in her azure eyes did brood
When at her mother's Gate of Song she stood
Listening! The beauty and the grace which filled
Her world as with a sense of music, stilled
But lingering, like unseen wings a-stir!
Yea, more than these, the stainless soul of her!

The brightness and the wonder stay, dear God,
Though on her breast has dropped the clod.
Love stays! Love stays!
Though Life has gone Death's ways!

THROWING THE WANGA*

(ST. JOHN'S EVE.)

From *Harper's Weekly*. By permission.

*Shrill over dark blue Pontchartrain
It comes and goes, the weird refrain,
Wanga! Wanga!*

*The trackless swamp is quick with cries
Of noisome things that dip and rise
On night-grown wings; and in the deep
Dark pools the monstrous forms that sleep
Inert by day uplift their heads.
The zela flower its poison sheds
Upon the warm and languorous air;
The lak-vine weaves its noxious snare;
The wide palmetto leaves are stirred
By venom'd breathings, faintly heard
Across the still, star-lighted night.
Her lonely spice-fed fire, alight
Upon the black swamp's utmost rim,
Now spreads and flares, now smoulders dim;
And at her feet they curl and break,
The dark-blue waters of the lake.*

*Her arms are wild above her head—
Old withered arms whose charm has fled.*

*"Zizi, Creole Zizi,
You is slim an' straight ez a saplin'
Dat grows by de bayou's' aidge;
You is brown and sleek ez a young Bob White
Whar hides in de yaller sedge.*

*"Yo' eyes is black an' shiny,
An' quick ez de lightnin' flash;
You wuz bawn in de time er freedom,
An' never is felt de lash.*

—Me, I kin th'ow wanga!"

*To throw the Wanga is to cast the Voodoo spell.

*Her dusky face is wracked and seamed,
That once like ebon marble gleamed.*

“Zizi, Creole Zizi,
You is spry on yo’ foot ez de jay-bird
Whar totes de debble his san’
You kin tole de buckra to yo’ side
By de turnin’ o’ yo’ han’.

“Yo’ ways is sweet ez de sugar
You puts in yo’ *pralines*,
When the orange flower on de banquette draps,
An’ de pistache-nut is green.
—Me, I kin th’ow wanga!”

*Her knotted shoulders, brown and bare,
The deathless scars of slavehood wear.*

“Zizi, Creole Zizi,
You is crope lak a thief to de do’-yard
When de moon wuz shinin’ high,
An’ you stole de ole man’ heart erway
Wid de laughin’ in yo’ eye.

“My ole man!—de chillun’s daddy!—
We is hoed de cotton row
An’ shucked de corn-shuck side by side
Fer forty year an’ mo’!
—Me, I kin th’ow wanga!”

*The flames that leap about her feet
Burn with a perfume strange and sweet.*

“Zizi, Creole Zizi,
Twis’ yo’self in de coonjine
Lak a moccasin in de slime;
Twis’ yo’s’e’f when de fiddle talks
Fer de las’ endurin’ time.

“Den was’e ter de bone in de midnight,
In de mawnin’ was’e erway;
Bu’n wid heat in de winter-time,
An’ shiver de hottes’ day—
Wanga! wanga!”

“Onder yo’ fla’ntin’ *tignon*
De red-hot beetles crawl,
Wid claws dat sco’ch inter de meat,
An’ mek de blood-draps fall!

“Over yo’ bed de screech-owl
In de midnight screech an’ cry!
Den kiver yo’ head, Creole Zizi—
Den kiver yo’ head an’ die—
Wanga! wanga!”

*Her voice is hushed, she crouches low
Above the embers’ flickering glow.
The swamp-wind wakes, and many a thing
Unnamed flits by on furry wing;
They brush her cheeks unfelt; she hears
The far-off songs of other years.*

*Her eyes grow tender as she sways
And croons above the dying blaze.*

“Oh, de cabin at de quarter in de old plantation days,
Wid de garden patch behin’ it an’ de gode-vine by de do’,
An’ de do’-yard sot wid roses, whar de chillun runs and plays,
An’ de streak o’ sunshine, yaller lak er-slantin’ on de flo’!

“We wuz young an’ lakly niggers when de ole man fotch me
home.
Ole Mis’ she gin de weddin’, an’ young Mis’ she dress de
bride!
He say he gwineter love me twel de time o’ kingdom come,
An’ forty year an’ uperds we is trabble side by side!

"But ole Mars' wuz killed at Shiloh, an' young Mars' at
Wilderness;

Ole Mis' is in de graveyard, wid young Mis' by her side,
An' all er we-all's fambly is scattered eas' and wes',
An' de gode-vine by de cabin do' an' de roses all has died!

"My chillun dey is scattered too, an' some is onder groun'.
Hit wuz forty year an' uperds we is trabble, him an' me!
Ole Mars', whar is de glory o' de freedom I is foun'?
De ole man he is lef' me fer de young eyes o' Zizi!"

*Her arms are wild above her head,
The softness from her voice has fled.*

"Zizi, Creole Zizi,
Twis' yo'se'f in de coonjine
Lak a moccasin in de slime;
Kunjur de ole man wid yo' eye
Fer de las' endurin' time!

"Den cry an mo'n in de mawnin',
In de midnight mo'n an' cry,
Twel de debble has you, han' an' foot,
Den stretch yo'se'f an' die!—
Wanga! wanga!"

NOAH KNOWLES DAVIS

[1830—]

COLLINS DENNY

NOAH KNOWLES DAVIS was the son of Noah Davis of Salisbury, Maryland, who having completed his studies at Columbian College, District of Columbia, married Mary Young of Alexandria, became pastor of the Baptist Church at Norfolk, then after a few years was appointed to take charge of the publication interests of the Baptists of the United States. He therefore removed to Philadelphia, and while engaged in that service died, July 15, 1830, at the early age of twenty-seven.

Just two months before the decease of Rev. Noah Davis, his son Noah Knowles was born. After the remarriage of his mother, to Rev. J. L. Dagg of Virginia, the family removed to Alabama, and ten years thereafter to Georgia. The lad, Noah, at the age of fourteen entered Mercer University, Georgia, and was graduated in 1849 with the usual degree of A.B. The honorary degrees of A.M. and Ph.D. were subsequently conferred on him by his *alma mater*. The degree of LL.D. was received from Baylor University. The most important event of his college days was his union with the Baptist Church, the faith of his forefathers.

After graduation he spent three years in Philadelphia studying chemistry. During this period he supported himself, partly by teaching, partly by work in an architect's office, chiefly by editing two successful and remunerative books, 'The Carpenter's New Guide,' one volume folio, and 'The Model Architect,' two volumes folio. Fond of music from his boyhood, he made it a pastime and studied it, less, however, as an art than as a science. Some of his compositions in sacred music have won a place in church hymnals; others unpublished, sacred and secular, have been praised by competent judges.

At the age of twenty-two, Mr. Davis, as professor of Natural Science in Howard College, Alabama, began his long, honorable and successful career in teaching. At the beginning of his third session the main building was burned at midnight, with some loss of life to lodgers on the fourth floor, and a total loss of much valuable property. Within a fortnight after this disaster Professor Davis was offered by President Basil Manly a professorship in the Univer-

sity of Alabama, at an advanced salary, but he refused to leave Howard College in its distress. His training in architecture was then turned to good use; for under his sole direction, three large college buildings were erected by the Howard College authorities. He was also the sole architect, three years previously, of Science Hall, built for Mercer University, and later of several handsome dwellings.

Near the beginning of his last year (1857) in the college, Professor Davis was married to Miss Ella C. Hunt, of Albany, Georgia, who, with four children, constitute his unbroken family.

In the fall of 1859 Professor Davis took charge as principal of the famous Judson Institute at Marion, Alabama. This is one of the oldest, largest, and most thorough institutions for the higher education of women in the United States. Here his knowledge of music was very serviceable. In teaching the senior classes he was led anew into a systematic study of philosophical branches, to which his tastes inclined, and to which his after life was devoted. Oppressed by the vast responsibility of his position, and wearied by the incessant strain upon his nervous energies, he resigned in 1865. In subsequent years the board of trustees repeatedly urged his return to the management. Two years were spent in teaching a private school. He was then, in 1868, elected president of Bethel College, Kentucky, which he reorganized on a full collegiate basis and brought to a high degree of efficiency. The years at Bethel were rich in philosophical reading and thought.

But useful and successful as had been the life of Professor Davis as a teacher for those twenty-one years, it was during his thirty-three years at the University of Virginia that it shone with increasing brilliancy. Having accepted the chair of Moral Philosophy in that already famous institution, he began, in the fall of 1873, a series of lectures, to classes of well advanced students, on Logic and Psychology, on Ethics and Philosophy, his instruction growing, deepening, and enlarging even to the day of his retiring in 1906. He had marked and great gifts as a teacher. A profound and clear thinker, he soon awakened the interest of his pupils in the problems of philosophy. The thoroughness of his work kindled their enthusiasm, leading them to put forth their best efforts. It was not uncommon for his classes to linger with him far beyond the schedule time, oblivious of the hours, asking questions and listening to his expositions. His tenacious memory, his pictorial imagination, and his wide reading, especially in modern literature, gave him a great wealth of suggestive illustration. There was a dignity and reserve about his lectures, which were, however, occasionally illumined by a glow of humor or a flash of wit. Moreover, his gifts were his servants, and

well trained servants. He was modest enough and great enough to say, time and again, "I do not know," and frankly to acknowledge an error. He was a bold thinker, but there was a caution in his boldness that gave weight to his conclusions.

Having fulfilled more than fifty years of continuous teaching, he was invited in June, 1906, by the Trustees of the Carnegie Foundation, to accept a retiring allowance, "in recognition of his unusual and extraordinary services as a scholar." In granting his request to retire, the Board of Visitors, the governing body of the University, nominated him Professor Emeritus, thus retaining his connection with the institution, and in their resolutions included the following:

"The board desires to place on record a minute expressing its appreciation of the ability and devotion of this eminent scholar and teacher to the interest of the University of Virginia for a generation. No one of the great teachers of the University has served its life with more ability and distinction and consecration. It is a privilege and a happiness for the board to bear testimony to the vigor and skill with which Professor Davis has conducted his courses up to the last moment of his active work, and it desires to extend to him in his well-earned retirement the assurance of their admiration, affection, and good-will."

In the minutes of the Faculty, several members of which had been his pupils, is expressed "their own sense of the loss the institution sustains in the withdrawal from its active work of a colleague so long and so favorably known among us as teacher, counsellor and associate. In the lecture room, in our Faculty room, on the public platform, and in our social circle, his place will not be easy to fill. His two eminent predecessors had raised the School of Moral Philosophy to distinction. Yet it is no disparagement of them to say it is the unanimous verdict of the Visitors, Faculty and Alumni that Professor Davis has not only maintained but advanced the standard of the School. No notice of his services, however brief, should omit to mention his important voluntary labors for the general welfare of our students. He established our first reading room for undergraduates. His activity in behalf of the Young Men's Christian Association has been unremitting. By courses of Biblical Lectures, by the constant help of advice and suggestion, by securing for the Association pecuniary aid, he deserves profound gratitude. Besides, he has done much outside work as lecturer and author. His published volumes, professional and popular, have made him and the University favorably known to a large and widening public."

The foregoing mention of outside work has reference primarily to courses of lectures delivered at Chautauqua, New York, and the

University of Chicago during several summer semesters; also before the School of Christian Philosophy, and the Theological Seminaries at Alexandria, Virginia; at Louisville, Kentucky; and at Crozer, Pennsylvania, and, besides, to many occasional public addresses. In 1904 he accepted the office of president of the Department of Philosophical Sciences, connected with the great Exposition at St. Louis.

But by his writings the name of Professor Davis is familiar to many to whom he is unknown by face. Besides numerous contributions to newspapers, he has often published lengthy and weighty articles for the leading reviews, his most recent article, 1907, being on "The Possibility of Miracles." All his published writings, including his books, are on subjects of the highest significance.

Dissatisfied with the usual text-books on the subjects of his instruction in the University, he prepared, in the course of years, a series for the use of his own pupils. The first was 'The Theory of Thought,' published by Harper and Brothers in 1880. This treatise of Logic "is largely a return to Aristotle's doctrine, as colored by filtration through mediæval mind." It criticizes sharply the so-called conditional syllogisms introduced by Theophrastus and the New Analytic of Hamilton, and defends against all comers the validity of the Aristotelic syllogism. In 1893 appeared his 'Elements of Deductive Logic.' With this last, his smallest book (200 pages), he took especial pains, and considers it one of his best works. In these logical treatises is manifest the power of analysis with which he was greatly gifted.

In 1892 his 'Elements of Psychology' was published. It contains many familiar things modified, and some things new. Of these a few may be indicated: the material object immediately perceived; the argument for immediate perception; the modified view of intuition; the argument for duality; the relation of feeling to cognition; the character and place assigned to belief; the distinction of feeling from desire; the defense of freedom in willing. The 'Elements of Ethics' (1900) discovers intuitively the moral law in human relations, formulates it in four words, and proceeds to show its comprehension of all obligations of man to man, and to the Deity; also of all obligations attending organizations, as the Family, the Community, the State, the Church. The series of scientific texts herewith culminates. Of his treatise on Ethics the author says, "This task finished, I shall hardly undertake another, but rest in the hope that what is now done shall be found well done, proving a step toward truth in philosophy and a help toward righteousness in life."

The style of the foregoing works is in harmony with their themes. It is precise without stiffness or superfluity. Many abstruse

problems are discussed, always clearly, tersely, vigorously, and logically. Perspicuity and accuracy take precedence of brilliance, and the language is chaste and suitable to the thought. These philosophical treatises have been widely and highly approved. They have been adopted as texts, in whole or in part, by more than fifty colleges, and the last two books are required by the Methodist Episcopal Church South of all candidates for its ministry.

Two other works of special note were the outcome of Sunday lectures to University students. In these the author allows freer play to his "fine historic imagination," and draws widely on his literary resources. Often there is a rhythm in his sentences that gives them the music of poetry. Intimately familiar with his Bible, he has caught and absorbed not a little of the chaste beauty of that unsurpassed English classic.

One of the two works is entitled, 'Juda's Jewels,' a study in the Hebrew lyrics (1895). It sketches the story of David and inserts in their probably historic places about twenty of his psalms, which are revised, annotated, and reviewed with special attention to their poetic form. In the rendition and setting of these glowing psalms, which speak to every possible experience of the soul in its religious moods, there blows the breath of the open air. Morn, midday, and evening, and after that the stars; sunshine and quiet, and then the cloud and storm—these are here. The rendering of the elegy over Saul and Jonathan has been pronounced by eminent Jewish authority the best in our language.

The other work referred to above is entitled 'The Story of the Nazarene, in annotated Paraphrase' (1903). "Dr. Davis has here grouped the events of our Lord's life into a superb literary portrait of the Nazarene, while he has also given us most valuable and interesting insight into the manners and customs of the people, the geography of the land, and the contemporaneous history. He is familiar with the finest literature, and uses the treasure he holds most liberally for the delight and profit of the reader. He has the peculiar rhetorical and oratorical gift so common among cultivated Southern men, still the pervading spirit of the narrative is eminently reverent, serious, and devout. It is a living, breathing, throbbing story of the life of Jesus." Of it the author says, "The work has been done reverently, with hearty confidence in the historic verity of the basis, a confidence unshaken by its supernatural marvels, unshaken because begotten of clear reason, which sees spiritual energies, human and superhuman, ever dominating the course of history. Thoughtful men will never tire of the beautiful story that has proved to be the most momentous episode in the annals of mankind, the leaven of

civilization, uplifting and transforming the race; the story of the time when the three spheres were tangent, and Heaven heroically wrested our world from the mastery of Hell; the story of *Christus, victor, salvator, consolator*; the love story of the wooing of humanity to become the bride of the Princely Heir to the throne of the universe."

Allies Drury.

THE PLAIN

From 'Juda's Jewels.' Copyright by Noah Knowles Davis, and published by the Publishing House of the Methodist Episcopal Church South, Nashville.
By permission of the author.

THE most ancient of all songs are sweetest and noblest of all. The first in time are the first in worth. Poetry is an art which accumulates, but does not progress; or rather it is not an art, since its early, untutored, spontaneous efforts are its best. Centuries before Pindar, before Homer, there was a bard in Judah whose songs have ever since been singing by millions more and more, and will still be singing when all others are forgotten. He, the Adam of song, typical of mankind, touched the utmost verge of every possible human experience; step by step he trod all paths of joy and sorrow; one by one he traversed all avenues to honor and dishonor; and he wandered from boyhood to old age, harp in hand, singing all the changeful way in tone that echoing hearts will never allow to die. That the ear may catch the divine perfection of this melody, the eye must see the songster where he stands. Let us then go along his way, and when he stops to sing we too will pause with listening eyes and ears.

David, the son of Jesse, appears at first as a shepherd boy on the plains east of Bethlehem. He is the youngest of eight brothers. Two elder sisters are also named, but his mother's name is nowhere given. The great prophet and judge, Samuel, comes to their home at Bethlehem to select and anoint a new king over Israel. The eldest of the sons, the tall, handsome, and haughty Eliab, is rejected; and so successively the

others. And Samuel said unto Jesse: "The Lord hath not chosen these. Are here all thy children?" David is sent for. He comes; a handsome lad, of rather short stature, in contrast with Eliab, Saul, and Goliath; but his frame is compacted for both agility and strength. Thus he says of himself:

It is God that girdeth me with strength.
He maketh my feet like hinds' feet;
He teacheth my hands to war,
And mine arms to bend the brazen bow.

His dress is probably a simple frock, leaving his neck and arms bare, girdled about the waist, and reaching his knees. His hair is auburn, his eyes beautiful and bright, his complexion ruddy with the flush of youth and health. "And the Lord said: Arise, anoint him, for this is he." So the symbolic oil is poured upon his head, and the Spirit of the Lord came upon David from that day forward.

We will presume that David returned for a time to the care of his sheep. His anointing, viewed merely as an objective fact, must have had a powerful effect in developing his character. We may doubt if he fully understood its import until long afterwards, but not that the mystery was food for his wondering thought. His peaceful and solitary pursuit promoted reflection, and as he pondered his destiny the currents of this thought deepened their channels.

Muse amid thy flocks awhile,
At thy doom of greatness smile,
Bold to bear God's heaviest load,
Dimly guessing at the road.

When, moreover, we remember that The Spirit of the Lord was now upon him, it is evident that this was a great epoch in his mental history, and the true beginning of his wonderful career.

Another fact must have made a deep mark on his character. By his father and brothers he was disdainfully consigned to a menial occupation, and it became the subject of taunt. Endowed with a highly sensitive nature, he felt this keenly. But the exclusion from the family circle, the humiliation, the mortification, however bitter to the lonely lad, became

in his healthful mental organization, and doubtless under the influence of the Spirit, a means of discipline and strength, of self-mastery. The sculptor has blunt chisels, which, under heavy blows, break off rude masses of marble, but he also has sharp chisels, with which he perfects his work.

David's mother no doubt was in sympathy with him. That there were strong points in her character may be surmised from Jesse's apparent weakness and the unquestionable powers of her children. Her youngest was naturally her darling, and so she called him, for the name, "David" means "beloved." As a faithful mother she had in early years taught him many lessons of love and duty. Kneeling at her knees, with his palms together and upraised, he had learned from her the name "Jehovah"; and when he was driven out to hard service and solitude, her tears softened him, her love went with him and animated him, and he remembered and practised the lessons of her piety. What matters it that we know not her name? She, type of the virgin mother, is immortal in her son. It seems to me we may often note in David's conduct, even in late periods of his life, the unmistakable marks of his mother's hand, especially in his generous, gentle, and kindly impulses; yet never does he name her, and only once refers to her. In an agony of prayer, he cries, "Save the son of thine handmaid;" thus resting his plea on her desert. But why this reticence? In every true man's heart there are some things too sacred for utterance; there is an inviolable inner shrine. A mother's name is never a light thing. A man of deep and fine feeling, as was this man, does not any time talk much about his mother, and when death adds its sanctity, how the heart shuts up her name!

Another fact is worthy of note as making an impress on David's character in his early youth. He was thrown into constant communion with Nature. Her sweet and healthful influences, her gentle and stern aspects developed his strength, deepened his emotions, and peopled his fancy. The plains of Bethlehem, which for three thousand years have been sheep pastures, are remarkable for landscape beauty, a beauty that must have been far greater in David's day, when foliage was more abundant there than now. There he learned to love the sky, the mountain, the distant sea, the brawling brook, the green field, the perfumed flower. There he took his first les-

son in that various language of nature with which his poetry abounds; for

To him who, in the love of nature, holds
Communion with her visible forms, she speaks
A various language; for his gayer hours
She has a voice of gladness, and a smile
And eloquence of beauty, and she glides
Into his darker musings with a mild
And healing sympathy that steals away
Their sharpness ere he is aware.

But there were frowns in the landscape whose features were symbolic of his life. Before him, in the dim eastern distance where earth met sky, there lay in a deep valley of gloom the sea that was for all time the emblem of death and God's hate of sin. Nearer, stretching north and south, lay the haunted wilderness, which afterwards overheard the great temptation, already occupied by ferocious beasts that came thence like emissaries of Satan to ravage the flocks. In the lower grounds were horrible pits of slime and springs of bitter, poisoned waters. Still nearer were abrupt precipices pierced with gloomy unknown caves, the refuge of crime. The edge of the cliffs was broken here and there by ravines leading from the plains above, deepening dangerously and filled with the shadow of death. But as yet his feet trod the green and sunny slopes, and flowers bloomed on the pathway leading from the home of his birth.

Let us remember that David was a poet and a musician born. Probably untaught, he cultivated for himself the native impulse to pour forth in song the overflow of his heart, beguiling his lonely and quiet hours with a harp which he invented, and, after a rude fashion, had made. Thus he attuned both melody and harmony with verse.

The fame of his harp went beyond Bethlehem, and reached the court at Gibeah. He was sent for to play before the King. He goes afoot, like the mediæval minstrel, his harp muffled with lilies and hanging from his shoulders. Its sweet tones, drawn out by the native skill of a loving hand, soothe the dark hours of the fierce and gloomy king, and quiet the evil spirit that troubled him, thus "lifting Saul's name out of sorrow, and weaving a spell to sustain him where song had restored him."

When David returned to his home we do not see that he was at all elated by this brilliant episode in his boy life. Still we must believe that it quickened his thoughts like wine. He was not yet a man, but his manhood was rapidly developing.

ESSAY ON POETRY

From 'Juda's Jewels.' Copyright by Noah Knowles Davis, and published by the Publishing House of the Methodist Episcopal Church South, Nashville. By permission of the author.

POETRY is not an invention of man. The psalmists and prophets did not take herein a human contrivance and bend it to their service. Rather they took a noble gift of God, and used it for the noble purposes for which it was ordained. His Maker fashioned man for poetic utterance that his praises might burn with eloquence, and his prayers rise with the fragrance of incense. But the best gifts of God are liable to the worst abuse; and from its abuse has arisen the notion, under the high sanction of both Plato and Aristotle, that poetry is essentially fictitious, and antagonistic to truth. Rather is it the festive, Sabbath-day robe of truth, a veil to soften her awful severity and the dazzling flash of her eyes. Poetry is the perfection of expression, and the noblest vehicle of thought. "Let no one, then," says Bishop Lowth, "speak of this art as light and trifling in itself, or regard it as profane and impious; this art which has been conceded to man by his Creator, and for the most sacred purposes; this art consecrated by the authority of God himself, and by His example in His most august ministrations."

The influence which poetry, even when not filling its highest offices, exerts on the human race is incalculable. The childhood of all nations has been spent in singing. The richest treasures of every literature are its poems; and, says Fletcher, one who can make the songs of a people need not care who makes the laws. Of all those departments of thought into which mind has expanded, we may doubt whether any one has had more influence in determining the destinies of mankind than that which embodies the creations of imagination, and gives enduring form and expression to human feeling. Was Raphael wrong, when, in the chamber of sciences in the

Vatican, he gave in his frescoes the same rank to poetry as to philosophy, jurisprudence, and theology?

But while making this high claim for poetry in general, we make a higher special claim for sacred poetry. None is comparable to the Hebrew poetry in the effects it has wrought, and the sway of the Hebrew bard surpasses the sway of all others. For who is king among men? Is it not he that rules? On the Parnassus, Raphael assigns to Homer the highest place. Was he right? Yes, if Greek poetry, or even European poetry, be intended. But if Raphael would represent the poetry of the world; if he would distinguish its highest seat, and that poet who has been most potent in molding the hearts, thoughts, and conduct of men through a hundred generations, he should paint Zion higher than Parnassus, and the sweet singer of Israel seated thereon; not in royal robes, with crown and scepter, but in the linen ephod, and with a harp in hand. From the hour when his songs exorcised the evil spirit in Saul, throughout his wanderings and his long reign, until the words of the son of Jesse were ended:

They softened men of iron mold,
They gave them virtues not their own;
No ear so dull, no heart so cold,
That felt not, fired not at the tone,
Till David's lyre grew mightier than his throne.

His visible kingdom did not long survive him, but his dominion over the hearts of men was established forever.

In attempting to catch a glimpse of the characteristics of true poetry, we first distinguish its essence from its form. Of the essence we can say very little. But is it not truth, beauty, and goodness—the Platonic triad—becoming a trinity? We may have an expression of truth alone, but this is not poetry. We may have truth and goodness combined, but yet not poetry. We may have beauty alone, transcendent beauty, expressed in perfect poetical form, but specious and false, this is not true poetry. Like the brilliant glare of the aurora, it gives no warmth, quickens no life. But when truth, goodness, and beauty unite, is not this essentially poetry, whatever be the form? It seems to me that these three are great archangels belonging to God's throne, but sent on a mission to

every open heart, and spreading a halo of heaven's own glory all around our way.

The form of poetry is more palpable. Yet we cannot fix it. It is protean. If we were to grasp in one statement all the forms that have yet appeared, the next original poet that is born, if there is ever to be another, would violate our rule, and give us a new form. We propose here to consider only one external mark, one which seems to attend beauty wherever it appears, whether in poetry or other arts, or in Nature. The somewhat musty definition of beauty, unity amid variety, seems at once too wide and too narrow, yet it involves the mark to which we allude, and which is here emphasized, since it is especially prominent in Hebrew poetry. Let us call this mark Repetition.

In the beautiful objects of Nature we find a constant repetition. We see it in the eyes and lips of the human face, in the petals of the flower, in the stars of the sky. We hear it in the thrilling song of birds, and in the echo. In art we see it in the columns of the Parthenon, the statues of the Agora, repeating the human form, and in the paintings of Stoa Poecile, repeating memorable scenes. In music there is frequent repetition. To each of Mozart's model melodies, and of Beethoven's tone poems, there is a theme, of perhaps not more than one or two measures, which is worked out with numerous variations and frequent reappearances, and which, never being entirely lost, preserves that unity essential to a true work of art.

In modern poetry we have a repetition of sound in rhyme. This is a device to increase the poetical effect by a purely sensuous impression.* It is not found in classical Latin, but appears in the later Latin of the mediæval hymns; nor does it occur in classical Greek, except traces here and there in comedy, but has been adopted by modern Greek versifiers. It has not been found in early Hebrew poetry, though searched for with great assiduity; but rhyme and, soon after, meter, makes its appearance here also, first in the Seventh Century, in some poetical attempts of rabbinical scholars. The lack of syllabic accent makes rhyme necessary in French poetry; in other mod-

*We cite especially Southey's "Lodore," the sole merit of which consists in the sensuous effect of skilful rhyming.

ern tongues it is unnecessary, and marks decadence of poetical taste and power. We hold to what Milton says in his preface to 'Paradise Lost' (ed. 1660). "Rhime is no necessary adjunct or true ornament of poem or good verse, in longer works especially, but the invention of a barbarous age, to set off wretched matter and lame meter; graced indeed since by the use of some famous modern poets, carried away by custom, but much to their own vexation, hindrance, and constraint to express many things otherwise, and for the most part worse than else they would have expressed them. Poets of prime note have rejected Rhime as a thing of itself, to all judicious ears, trivial and of no true musical delight; which consists not in the jingling sound of like endings, a fault avoided by the learned ancients both in poetry and all good oratory."

It is needless to detail the various ways in which the principle of repetition gives form to poetry. It is the very ground of all meter, whether by modern accent or ancient quantity. It is the very essence of all rhythm, even of that obscure rhythm which is felt rather than seen in graceful prose; for, as Augustine, in "De Musica," says, "all meter is rhythm, but not all rhythm is meter." The delicate and pleasing effect of the refrain is due to repetition. Besides these, we frequently find in good poetry the effect greatly heightened, though by a sensuous rather than an intellectual appeal, through the repetition of words and phrases.

TELEOLOGY

From 'The Elements of Ethics.' Copyright by Silver Burdett and Company. By kind permission of the publishers.

THE foregoing are primary conditions of yet another specific relation of the highest import, the relation of means and end. Its philosophic treatment is teleology, which views Nature as a kingdom of ends. We shall here consider the teleologic relation merely as an existing fact, the end as an effect, not as a design or final cause.

In many individual groups of things the relation of means and end may be discerned, binding the components into an organic whole. Accordingly an organism is defined as a group

in which all parts are mutually means and end. Each part is for every other; also each is for the whole, and the whole for each; all serving all. An organ is a member of an organized group, serving all other members as ends. Every constitutive part is an organ, an instrument, a means. It has certain special functions relating to the rest severally and as a whole; and when it entirely ceases to perform its office, it ceases to be a member of the organism.

It is not a fancy, nor a mere speculation, but a fact, recognized by philosophy and lying at the base of all science, that the universe is a kingdom of ends, an organism constituted of minor organisms. Space is for bodies, and bodies are for space. Time is for events, and events are for time. Space without body, or time without event, is unthinkable. Gravitation draws all bodies toward one center, and radiation disperses to all bodies the store of energy collected in that center. Every star, and every planet, and every satellite, has its peculiar office relative to the rest. The extinction of any one would necessitate a readjustment of the whole. Nature, the great world of all things, is an organized individual, a cosmos.

The earth is a cosmic unity. In its series of periodically recurring changes, reproductive life is linked with the seasons, and active life with day and night. It is itself made up of relatively independent organisms. For example, every animal is an organism. Each of its members, even the least, is an organ serving the sustenance of all others, and receiving sustenance from all. The head is for its hair, and the hair for the head, and both for the trunk. Should any organ cease its functions, it suffers atrophy, or is cast off as excrementitious; and when the chief organs cease their ministry, life ceases, and the integral whole disintegrates. A plant is an organic whole. The root is for the leaf, and the leaf for the root; and the other parts serve the leaf and root, else these could not perform their functions. All are reciprocally related as means and end. As physiology thus resolves living bodies into organized organs, so chemistry teaches that all bodies consist of systems of molecules, and these ultimately of systems of atoms. Every subordinate is a microcosm repeating the macrocosm.

In the kingdom of ends is included the spiritual realm. We conceive that it contains no isolated elements, that throughout its sphere there is organized interaction. Within the range of observation is the human mind, constituted by a complement of faculties whose activities are mutually conditioned, and coöperate to a common end. As in the corporeal so in the spiritual sphere, very many of the most important ends are attained only by means of a combination of energies.

The universe as a total we conceive to be composed of the spiritual and the corporeal united in an interchange of functional activities. Many minor wholes are thus organically constituted. Each individual man is a double organism consisting of body and mind. He is also a member of wider combinations; for none of us liveth to himself, and none dieth to himself. The family is an organic individual, its members being normally related for mutual service. Every individual community or organized society has a constitution, written or unwritten, whose essence is a definition of the offices of its members in their service of the common interest. The city, the state, the nation, has organic laws constituting it an individual, wherein its citizens are each for all and all for each. The human race is an organized individual, its members being bound into one by natural affinities, and related by teleological interaction. Moreover, the content of an individual life cannot be described except relatively to the historical whole. The entire history of the age and of the entire past is contained in it and its influence extends throughout the entire future. The kingdom of ends is the universe. Everywhere there is reciprocity, a relation of mutual interdependence and altruistic subservience, a universal ministry. All serving all is the fundamental, thoroughgoing, uniform plan of the world.

CHARITY

From 'Elements of Ethics.' Copyright by Silver Burdett and Company. By kind permission of the publishers.

THE affections having different objects, have received various names; as, conjugal, parental, filial and fraternal love, friendship, kindness, patriotism, philanthropy. In each of these the affection varies both in kind and degree. The differences in kind are due to differences in the relations. The differences in degree are regulated by the possibilities. We are not bound to love all others equally, this being unnatural. Many ties, many obligations. Those most nearly related are bound to love each other with a special ardor; as, parents and children.

The sentiment of gratitude excites love for a benefactor or neighbor. It enters largely along with friendship and kindness into the forms and substance of true politeness, which is love in little, and in all its grades is essential to high moral culture, and is ennobling.

We are bound to love those whose character and conduct we abhor, cherishing the desire to remedy the evil in them, and otherwise to better them. We should love even a wicked and active enemy; righteous defensive resentment being quite consistent with the impulse to promote, not his evil way, but his well-being whenever opportunity offers or can be found, and in so far as we do not thereby trespass on some other. In civilized warfare, after a victory the wounded abandoned by the defeated are cared for humanely. This is love to enemies; we feel the obligation, and call it humanity.

We are bound to love all men of all races, those in the remotest regions of the globe, our very antipodes, yes, and even the generation yet unborn, in a due manner and measure. This is the obligation of philanthropy.

Service fulfilling the law must be, not merely willing service, but loving service. We have seen that a life of sacrificial service, of active beneficence, determined only by respect for the law, fails of completeness. Though I bestow all my goods to feed the poor, and have not charity, it profiteth me nothing. It is essential to duty that love be its spring.

The service due is loving service. Let the duplex form of this phrase be noted. Loving is desiring, a subjective motive; it is benevolence, well-wishing. Service is acting, an objective motion; it is beneficence, well-doing. Serving is the normal outcome, the natural consequent, of loving; they are psychological correlatives. Neither is complete without the other.

For, how is it possible that one should sincerely, willingly, intentionally endeavor to promote another's welfare, unless he desire the other's welfare? All voluntary effort is conditioned on an antecedent desire, so that the command of intelligent, willing service is a command of intelligent, loving service. One cannot sincerely strive for another's welfare unless he desire it, and this is love. If it be said, the desire is simply to obey, we reply, a desire to obey a command to serve, is a desire to serve as commanded.

On the other hand, how can there be love not followed by service? As faith without works is dead, so also is love without service. If it have any life, it is at least ready and watchful of opportunity to serve. For generous love impels to service. He who loves will serve, will render willing, active, self-sacrificing service. And also he who loves will be just, will pay all dues, will not trespass. Bear ye one another's burdens, and so fulfil the law. Owe no man anything, save to love one another, this being the only debt that cannot be finally discharged; for he that loveth another hath fulfilled the law. Love is the fulfilment of the law.

All the various presentations of the moral law heretofore considered, we now find to be summed in the law of loving service, Thou shalt love and serve. And indeed we see that even herein is superfluity, for the whole moral law, the total of human obligation, is completely and comprehensively summed in the single categorical imperative of one syllable, love. Thou shalt love, is the perfect law, the law of love.

Progress in moral culture consists in transforming fear into respect, and respect into love. With primitive characters, and even with many highly cultured otherwise, the fear of penalty is the chief, often the only, motive of obedience. To this may be added as one step higher, the hope of reward. In this is an appeal to the selfish propensities usually predominant

in crude humanity. They are not thereby approved, but used to bring the man to at least outward obedience, a step toward inward culture. Thus the law is a pedagogue, leading men upward.

A thoughtful consideration of one's relations, a clear recognition of the law in us, inspires respect for its mandate, and an impulse to observance. Herein is a passing away from the influence of threats and promises. These are lost to sight, and obedience is determined simply by respect for the law. The vast all-pervading sense of moral obligation, a wide comprehensive view of duty, an obedience to the law for its own sake superior to its sanctions, produce nobility and excellence in moral character. Yet this ideal is cold, hard, stern, repressing as weakness the natural play of tender sympathy, of generous sentiment, of warm inclination toward others, maintaining a stoical indifference to their weal or woe, and giving help exclusively out of respect for the law of service. As a scheme of morals, this cannot be purged of egoism, of selfishness; for necessarily it holds that the so-called duties to self are equally or even more imperative than duties to another, those being the basis from which all other duties arise.

In the still higher ideal, cold respect for law is gradually, as culture progresses, replaced by charity, which is the bond of perfectness. As in the second grade the sanctions of the law are lost to sight, so in this highest grade the law itself disappears from view, and its requirements are fulfilled without reference to its mandate. It is the fruit of moral growth that both subjective and objective activities accord with the law, not because of its pressure, but because the order and harmony of the natural powers have been restored, and the man does what is right because his dominant impulses lead thereto, and his free preference finds therein his highest gratification. He renders loving service in due measure to his fellow men, this having become the habit, the second nature of his being. He does by nature the things of the law, and having no law, is a law unto himself, showing the work of the law written in his heart. For love knows no law other than its own impulse.

Obviously in the economy of human nature, this progression does not take place uniformly. A criminal at war with society at large may be dutiful to his family in other matters

because of strong domestic affection, and in so far fulfil the law of love. The average good citizen knows little and cares less about the criminal code. Its enactments are not for him. He has not the slightest disposition to do what it forbids, and orders his actions without reference to it. The penitentiary, the jail, the gallows, have no terrors for him. The police, the courts, the judiciary, he recognizes as social machinery devised and maintained for the protection of his rights. They have no other meaning for him. He has risen above the great body of civil law, and is not, properly speaking, an obedient, but a law-abiding citizen who, without thought of the law, governs his conduct by his own cultured preferences. In his intercourse with friends and acquaintances, he may still have duties that are irksome and repugnant which he fulfils from a sense of duty, and therein feels the tense bonds of obligation. His further moral growth requires the enlarging and deepening of charitable sympathies, so that his conduct may be determined more and more by love, less and less by law; doing always the right thing, not because he ought so to do, but because he wants to do just that thing rather than any other.

ON MIRACLES

From 'The Story of the Nazarene.' Copyright by Fleming H. Revell Company.
By kind permission of the publishers.

It will be appropriate to make here some remarks about miraculous signs in general. It has been often said that a miracle is impossible. Indeed, many skeptics, especially those of the school of the Positivists, assume this as a scientifically axiomatic postulate. Now an atheist may take this position consistently; but sincere atheists are so rare that we may here pass them by. An agnostic may not make the assertion consistently; he must say, I do not and cannot know. Let us pass him by. A deist, one who rejects the inspiration of the Scriptures yet believes in the existence of a divine Creator and Ruler, cannot consistently say that a miracle is impossible, for creation is the greatest of all miracles. Also in admitting the reality of divine overruling power, he fully admits the possibility of any and all miracles.

The deist indeed may say, I cannot conceive how water became wine, it is utterly incomprehensible, not to me only but to the human mind. Granted, but the futile effort to conceive how this came about is an effort to conceive either an intermediate process where there was none, or the manner in which the cause operated. But the manner in which any cause operates to produce its immediate effect is inconceivable. One cannot conceive how the earth attracts a falling stone, we know only that it does; or how a man bends his arm, we know only that he bends it. In the conception of water becoming wine, we have in the jars water, then wine; also we have sufficient antecedents in the water and divine will, and the effected consequent in the wine. For the conception no more is needed, no more is possible. We have no other conception of bending an arm. The antecedents are a straight arm and a man's will, the consequent is a bent arm. That is all we know or can know about it. Neither philosophy nor psychology, nor physiological psychology pretends to offer any explanation of how a man's will affects his brain so as to bring about the contraction of a muscle. Let us await the solution of this problem before we ask how water became wine.

Some deists object with Hume, that a miracle is contrary to all human experience. But this begs the question. It is equivalent to saying that since no miracle has ever been experienced, therefore no miracle has ever been experienced. If one miracle has been experienced then a miracle is not contrary to all experience. Moreover, it is not strictly proper to say that a miracle is contrary even to general experience, but only not in accord with general experience. And this is easily true of things not miraculous. Some years ago it was contrary, or more properly not according to experience, that two persons miles apart should engage in quiet oral conversation, but it has now become a familiar experience. Hence what is contrary or not according to general or even universal experience may nevertheless be not only possible and conceivable but also credible. It is simply a question of fact.

The chief difficulty in accepting miracles as facts arises from the modern scientific conception of natural law as expressing irrefragable, inviolable order. A miracle is supposed to violate this inviolate order, or as Spinoza puts it, therein the God

of grace contradicts the God of nature; a self-contradiction, and absurd. But let us consider the scope of natural law. If it expresses merely the play of physical forces apart from will, then indeed it expresses uniform inviolate order, order without alternative. And this is a true conception. But if the free force possessed by will intervenes, this produces results irreducible to law. If I put kindling and coal in my stove, and start a fire, I bring about a certain combination and state of things which would not occur in nature apart from will, and it is not as a whole conformable to any irrefragable law, yet no one calls this a violation of natural law. The exercise of the human will is surely apart from the uniform order of nature as expressed by law, though indeed it is not accounted supernatural. But the power of a free will, be it human or divine, free to use or not to use, and to direct and vary the intensity of a physical force, must be taken into account in the matter before us.

We are greatly in need of a definition of a miracle. Stated generically, a miracle is a supernatural phenomenon. A phenomenon is aught that appears to an observer. By supernatural is meant that which transcends for its production all forces exclusively physical, and any combination with them of the power of human volition. Now defining specifically, we have: A miracle is a supernatural phenomenon caused by an intervention of the energy of divine will in the established order of nature, subjecting it to variation or exception. Herein the divine will is exercised intelligently to direct or modify physical forces, bringing about extraordinary results; historically at a particular time, and for a special purpose. This cannot be called a violation of natural law any more than we may so call the intervention of voluntary human energy. A locomotive engineer controls his machine and its train at will by handling a lever. The Ruler of the universe directs its progress, and upon historic occasions has likewise at will modified natural order for specific purposes.

Of the very many miraculous signs which are stated in the Gospels to have been wrought by the divine power of the Christ only about forty are specifically recorded. They were His credentials which attested His mission from the Father to mankind. They were all miracles of mercy and love, instruc-

tive of His own personal character, and of the purpose of His commission. Some such convincing evidences were needful in the beginning and the early days of the Church; but its historical progress through many centuries, its spread in the world, and especially the development of its doctrines, furnish superseding evidences, so that the apologist no longer offers the miracles in proof of Christianity, but Christianity is the proof of the miracles.

STILLING THE TEMPEST

From 'The Story of the Nazarene.' Copyright by Fleming H. Revell Company. By kind permission of the publishers.

IN the mid-afternoon, Jesus, depressed by the insult and slander of the forenoon, distressed by the fickle people's heart waxed gross, annoyed by the curious multitude lingering and gathering about the door of His refuge, said to His disciples:

"Let us go over to the other side of the lake."

So they helped Him, even as He was, to the boat, launched forth, and set sail for the opposite shore. Jesus, harassed and weary with the toils of the day, lay down in the stern of the boat, and pillowing His head upon the cushion of the seat soon was rocked to sleep. It toucheth us nearly, this tired sleeping man.

It has already been noted that the Galilean lake is subject to sudden and violent storms, owing to the cold and heavy air of the northward mountains flowing along its surface to displace the hot and light air of the deep Jordan Valley on the south. When the boat in which Jesus was sleeping was midway in its course, one of these storms arose. Heavy clouds veiled and darkened the sky, and a thick fog settled on the lake. Then an aerial avalanche came roaring down from the mountains and smote upon the waters, lashing them into the wild waves that dashed hissing on the little boat. Its sails were furled, and the sailors grasped their oars to steady and control its course. Yet, mid all the hideous roar of the tempest, the deep slumber of the tired man was unbroken. But the tumultuous waves rising higher dashed over the gunwale of the tossing boat, and it began to fill. Then thought the despairing disciples, He can save, and He alone. One of them,

Peter, we think, tottered aft, shook the Sleeper by the arm, crying:

"Master, carest thou not? Save; we perish."

As a man, Jesus slept; He awoke as a God. First, He calmly reproved the frightened men:

"Why are ye fearful? Where is your faith?"

Then standing firmly erect on the wavering board, and looking abroad over the tempestuous elements, in a loud voice He commanded:

"Peace; be still."

And immediately there was a great calm. The waves did not gently subside, but abruptly shrank; the winds did not lull, but instantly ceased, and the air stood still; the clouds did not disperse, but vanished, and the unveiled sun flashed beams of light gilding the peaceful scene. Then Jesus lay down and slept again. The rescued mariners marveled, whispering one to another:

"Who then is this, that even the winds and sea obey him?"

This miracle overwhelms sense and taxes credulity. It is commonly regarded as one of the greatest displays of divine energy. But have we any dynamometer with which to measure miraculous power? Can we grade miraculous signs as less and greater? The changing water to wine, the healing a fever, the withering a fig-tree; in what are these inferior to raising the dead, or stilling the tempest? Only that they impress less forcibly our short-sighted sense. Divine power in one is the same as in another, and knows no measure.

Also the stilling of the tempest is commonly cited as a manifest violation of natural law. What natural law? I should be glad to see it formally stated. A law of nature becomes a law, and becomes known as a law, only by virtue of the axiomatic truth that like causes have like effects. Were like antecedents, including the will of Jesus, assembled on the lake to-day, it is unquestionable that like consequents would follow. There is in the case no more violation of natural law, a phrase greatly needing definition, than when a child tosses a ball. In this is involved human will. In that superhuman will. How the will works its end is inexplicable in either case.

"Peace; be still." To whom were these words addressed?

Certainly the winds and waves had no ears to hear; nor could they be rightly said to obey, as the simple disciple imagined; for obedience implies a submissive will in the one commanded. The usual reply is that the words were spoken merely that the disciples might hear and understand. Then the command was fictitious, a pretense, a sham. Rather let us remember that Satan, the Prince of the Power of the Air, was abroad and perhaps seized upon this favorable opportunity to destroy his prospective supplanter. He commissioned his myrmidons to execute his will. How, we know not; but we know that a child may start an avalanche. The tempest was roused and energized by demoniac powers. Then there came a conflict of wills. In the command, "Peace; be still," was uttered the dominant will, and Satan and his hosts heard and obeyed.



VARINA ANNE JEFFERSON DAVIS*

[1864—1898]

CHILES CLIFTON FERRELL

VARINA DAVIS was born at Richmond, Virginia, June 27, 1864. During the dark days of her father's imprisonment little Winnie, as she was familiarly called, was the only sunshine that came to him. Before she could read she knew "The Wreck of the Hesperus," "The Fight at Coilantogle Ford," and "Allan-Bane's Song in the Dungeon of Stirling Castle." At the age of twelve she knew by heart also many striking passages from Shakespeare, and was an ardent admirer of the "Wizard of the North." In 1877 she was placed in a boarding-school at Karlsruhe, Germany, where she remained for five years. Miss Davis went in 1882 to Paris. She studied French there several months, and afterwards traveled extensively. When she returned home she spoke German and French more fluently than English.

In 1879 the family had moved to Beauvoir, where they lived until the death of Jefferson Davis. She was his constant companion, going with him on all his trips through the South. After the death of the husband and father, Mrs. Davis and her daughter moved to the North. They felt that they must do so in order to obtain work, which was now a necessity. It was also a great advantage to them in their literary labors to be in close touch with their publishers. Both hemispheres were shocked at the announcement that the life of the "Daughter of the Confederacy" had been cut short at Narragansett Pier on September 18, 1898. As was fitting, her body was buried at Richmond.

The first thing Miss Davis published was a little poem in blank verse which appeared in *The Times-Democrat*; it was an address to a group of giant pines at Beauvoir and was signed "The Colonel." 'An Irish Knight of the Nineteenth Century' (John W. Lovell Company, New York, 1888) contains a vivid portrayal of the oppression of Ireland from the earliest times and a sympathetic sketch of Robert Emmet. The next publication, entitled "Serpent Myths,"

*See the writer's sketch of "The Daughter of the Confederacy—Her Life, Character, and Writings" in the 'Publications of the Mississippi (State) Historical Society,' Volume II, pages 69-84 (Oxford, Mississippi: Published by the Society 1899). Even Mrs. Davis, who kindly rendered the writer of this sketch all the assistance in her power, was unable to give the date when some of her daughter's minor pieces were published, and every effort to secure them has proved fruitless. They are either out of print or inaccessible.

appeared in *The North American Review* (February, 1888). It indicates wide reading and offers an interesting and ingenious theory to explain the origin of these myths. After this came some short descriptions of German life written for various papers and some clever bits of versification which were never published. Two or three years after her father's death she wrote for the *Ladies' Home Journal* a very strong article against foreign education for American girls. She prepared for *Belford's Magazine* a clever criticism of Colonel William Preston Johnston's theory that Hamlet was intended as a characterization of James I of England.

The main incidents of 'The Veiled Doctor' (Harper and Brothers, publishers, New York, 1895)—her most ambitious work—are true. The situations in this novel are sometimes characterized as unnatural and melodramatic, and the style is criticised as stilted. With such opinions the editor can only in a measure agree. Our author partially disarms criticism by calling attention to the perspective—the events being supposed to have taken place "in those times when the lives of men and women swung between the two poles of war's brutality and a super-refined sentimentalism, which seems mawkish to their more prosaic grandchildren." The ideals of different periods are not the same, and it is hardly safe to set up those of our own as a perfectly trustworthy standard in judging those of another. When we take into consideration the sensitive nature of Gordon Wickford and the ignorance of the physicians of his day with regard to the proper treatment of cancer, his desire to die alone does not seem so unnatural, and if this view be accepted Isabel's obedience is readily understood. It must be confessed that the most sympathetic and practical character in the book is "Aunt Hannah." The style is not always what it should be—the author being at times unable to resist the temptation to use high-sounding phrases, but it sometimes manifests considerable strength, and we find numerous bits of description that are indisputably clever and show excellent taste in their simplicity. The strongest feature of the story is its interest. The writer could hardly put it down until he had finished it. While it is not a great book, it is well worth reading.

Next came many unsigned essays for different journals—a Christmas story for *The World*, and a pretty one called "Maiblume" for *Arthur's Home Journal*. Then followed a comprehensive article on "The Women of the South before the War." Mrs. Davis gave her the material, and her beautiful pure soul shed upon it the moonlight of idealism. The piece last mentioned, as well as a remarkable paper on her father's character as she saw it, was published by McClure's syndicate.

Miss Davis was unusually well versed in Chinese history, as she had spent two years reading it because of her intention of writing a Chinese novel. On this account 'A Romance of Summer Seas' (Harper and Brothers, publishers, New York and London, 1898), has so strong a *vraisemblance* that people thought the author had visited the scenes she so vividly describes. Her knowledge of the Chinese world is shown also in an article which has for its title, "An Experiment in Chinese Money"; it was written at the time of the silver and gold contest.

The characters in 'A Romance of Summer Seas' are well-drawn and lifelike. Bush, the globe-trotter, who tells the story, proves to be a very entertaining *raconteur* in spite of the reputation he has of being an insufferable bore. He is loyal and true, and does not hesitate to risk his life for his new-found friend. Malcolm Ralstone and Minerva Primrose, the pair in whom the interest of the story centers, are not idealized, but thoroughly human. Guthrie, the Kansas cattle king, is the best-drawn character of all; he is kind-hearted and manly, but the personification of vulgarity—one of that type of Americans who travel much because they think it is the thing to do, make themselves very conspicuous by their loudness, bad manners, and ignorance, and do all they can to bring our country into disrepute. They are aided in this work by such vulgarians as the American consul at Hong-Kong—those creatures who owe their prominence to the abuses of our consular system. Miss Edwina Starkey is a revised but unimproved edition of Mrs. Jellyby—what Mrs. Jellyby might have been if she had become a sour old maid. Though an apostle of "The Brotherhood for the Diffusion of Light," Miss Edwina has about as much of the true spirit of Christianity as she has of personal beauty. Among the minor characters Doctor Clark is admirably drawn.

The book contains many charming bits of description; one has the feeling that Miss Davis *must* have visited those scenes which she brings so vividly before our mind's eye. The life on shipboard seems very real. We find evidence of the closest observation of the world, and the results of this observation sententiously expressed. A quiet humor pervades the story, which is realistic in the best sense and quite healthy. On the whole 'A Romance of Summer Seas,' while it is on a less ambitious scale than 'The Veiled Doctor,' seems more natural and shows a gratifying advance along several lines.

Charles Clifton Arrell

EXECUTION OF ROBERT EMMET

From 'An Irish Knight of the Nineteenth Century.' By permission of John W. Lovell Company, present owner of copyright.

AT about one o'clock they came to lead him forth; he received the summons with that fortitude which indeed never deserted him. "I have," he said, "two requests; the first, that my arms may be left as loose as possible. I make the other, not under any idea that it will be granted, but that it may be held in remembrance that I have made it. It is, that I may be permitted to die in my uniform." The first of these favors was humanely accorded him; the second, as he divined, was refused. He bade good-by with much kindness to those around him, especially to the turnkey who had particularly attended to him. This poor fellow had in those few days learned to love his noble charge, and the tears were streaming down his rugged face. Emmet's hands being tied, leaning over he gently kissed him on the forehead. Now they passed out into the open street. Along their way men and women stood watching for a last look of him who was to die because he loved his Ireland too well to brook the destruction of her liberties. At the windows of all the houses anxious faces peered out to catch the first sign of his approach.

It was no hollow mourning, such as follows a king when, bereft of crown and sceptre, he is borne in state to rest in the grave of his ancestors. This condemned criminal had placed upon his brow the better diadem of a people's love, and every Irishman felt the sharp blow that severed him from life as though that life, so precious to them all, were indeed interwoven with their very heartstrings.

Guarded by a strong military escort he passed to the place of execution, and as the carriage moved on, ever and anon would he nod to some acquaintance in the street or at the windows. Love met him in every eye; blessings followed him from every heart. Thus the cortège bore more resemblance to the obsequies of a hero than the exit of a condemned criminal. At one place on the route they passed a carriage with but a single occupant. As he neared the spot Emmet put his head out of the window and motioned with his poor, bound hand. The young woman in the vehicle stood up a moment

to wave her handkerchief, then sinking back she covered her face, overcome with emotion. Emmet continued to gaze after her as long as she remained in sight. This was his last meeting on earth with Sarah Curran; but their separation was not for long. Bowed down by a load of grief, too heavy for her slight frame, she died of a broken heart, in scarcely more than a year—following him she loved so well to that bourne from whence no traveler has returned. The patriot's dauntless courage never faltered. He ascended the scaffold with a firm step and turning to those around him said: "My friends, I die in peace and with sentiments of universal love and kindness to all men."

"Irish soil drank the blood of her loving son, but it still cries from the ground, pleading for the liberty to secure which he sacrificed his life."

In the deserted churchyard of St. Michins there is a slab on which no name is traced. Beneath this stone rest the ashes of Robert Emmet. How long, O Ireland, how long will it remain without an epitaph!

Thus died Ireland's true knight, sinking into the grave, clothed in all the bright promise of his youth; never to put on the sad livery of age; never to feel the hopelessness of those who live to see the principles for which they suffered trampled and forgotten by the onward march of new interests and new men. Perhaps Freedom like some deity of ancient Greece loved him too well to let the "slurs and contumely of outrageous fortune" dim the bright lustre of his virgin fame. Was it that in every revolution there must be some sacrifice to fill the ravenous jaws of watchful tyranny ere the new liberated people can march forward to the fruition of their hopes? Or is it that the graves of those who fall, like roadside crosses, point new generations on the road to freedom?

"Man dies, but his memory lives," and the name of Emmet shall ever awaken an answering thrill in Irish breasts as long as the shamrock grows green on the hills of Tara, and as long as the sea moans among the rocks of Connaught.

Man dies, but the principles which animated him are in their very essence immortal; like the phoenix, they sink into their ashes only to rise again doubly resplendent upon the wings of hope.

Ireland stands now with outstretched hands eagerly waiting the advent of her freedom. Now has she climbed with tireless feet the rugged path which alone leads to Liberty's demesne. Who then shall say that those have failed who with their very heart's blood fed the watchfires for her guidance, who deemed it glory to be accounted worthy of such sacrifice? That patriot-blood may be the talisman to break the chains that ever bound her down, the veriest slave, at England's mercy; and now that in the near future we may see—O blessed vision!—a new era dawn upon this beautiful but unhappy land, let us reverently remember those who died martyrs in the effort to serve their countrymen.

“Oh not for idle hatred, not for honor, fame,
Nor self-applause,
But for the glory of the cause
You did what will not be forgot.”

THE CLIMAX

From 'The Veiled Doctor.' Copyright by Harper and Brothers. By permission of the publishers.

WICKFORD entered the garden by the wicket in the hedge, so no notice might be given of his coming. He was unstrung and totally unfit to meet his wife at the moment; he labored under the oppressive aloofness begotten by sorrow, which endows even the most familiar objects with a strangeness borrowed from the new relation that we thenceforth bear to our dead selves. The old landmarks seemed to be obliterated by the torrent of his anguish, and he felt no more of the balm he anticipated from a sense of home-coming than he might have experienced in entering any wayside tavern. His disease created a spiritual alienation from all things, and in his heart like the Jewish lepers, he cried out perpetually, "Unclean, unclean!" proclaiming his eternal separation from humanity. He saw the light and heard the bursts of music swelling out from the drawing-room, and vainly tried to smother an unreasonable sense of resentment towards Isabel because she was enjoying herself so thoroughly, while he shuddered under the lash

of his fate out here in the cold. No doubt she had guests; he decided he would not disturb her then; it would be time enough to thrust his sinister presence upon her when they were gone.

Everything in his office and the adjoining room was just as he left it, with a fire laid against his coming. He soon kindled a blaze upon the hearth and threw himself into his high-backed chair, where in the deep silence, broken only by the howling of the wind and the distant booming of the surf, he determined to fight out his great fight alone, and win such quietness, born of desperation, as was to be his spiritual meat and drink until he died. In the tense agony he endured he took no note of time; all the forces of his nature waged war within the narrow confines of his heart, and their storming was mightier than the rage of the winds without. The temptation to self-destruction surged over him from time to time, and his belief in a personal devil made him feel almost as if he could see the dim spectre clutching at his laboring soul. There was a supreme moral courage in the man that sustained him in the midst of this spiritual upheaval, and at last the silent dignity of resignation began to settle upon him. He would live—yes, and carry on his work, too—until the end, nor should any man see him in the last stage of his fearful malady; his plan was fixed. Now he would go and say good-bye to that sweet temple of all his ruined hopes. He would look on her for the last time face to face; he would see the sheen of her hair, the rosy flush of her skin once more, for from the morrow all things would only come dimly to him seen through the fold of a black veil. The fire burned brightly, but he lit a candle. Who knew when he would come back? Perhaps she would meet him with tenderness; perhaps after all the difference between them might be bridged. There were all sorts of half-fledged thoughts nestling in his heart as he strode out into the night; the music was silent, so her guests must be gone, yet there was still light burning in the drawing-room. However, he would look in before he intruded upon her merry-making. Thus thinking he drew close to the window, his footfalls silent on the carpet of damp, dead leaves. The picture in the cheerful, warmly-lighted room seemed ever afterwards etched into his brain as by lightning. In a flash he saw her cut the curl, he saw the Captain take it with some-

thing else that glittered, he saw the kiss and the soldier's hurried departure. Then with an inarticulate cry of rage like a tiger's snarl he rushed madly through the garden towards the street; but it was too late, he could discern only the rapidly vanishing figure of horse and rider as they galloped through the night.

In his blind fury he ran forward, yelling to stop them, but the wind drove his voice back in his teeth and clutched his garments as if to hinder his mad race after vengeance. Bare-headed and panting, he struggled on until in his wild career he caught his foot in a protruding root and fell heavily to the ground, striking his head.

He never knew how long he lay there, but when semi-consciousness returned to him he staggered up, and with shaking limbs retraced his steps. The whole night seemed full of demons to his bewildered senses—devils who howled and laughed in his ears and blazened his shame on the very house-tops. He was obliged to sit down and rest at times, but after a while he found himself at his own door.

All the candles were snuffed out, the great lower rooms lay in utter darkness save for an occasional flicker of the smouldering logs in the drawing-room. There was light upstairs in madame's apartment though. That room he thought of, even in his present half-crazed condition, with a great heart-throb. It was the nest he had prepared for her with so much loving care; the chamber whose threshold he had not crossed since that day in midsummer when his respect for his wife suffered an untimely death.

Madame was nearly ready for the night; she had sent her maid away and was gazing into the mirror unseeingly, with the full tide of her hair rippling over her bare shoulders and hanging on either side of her tear-stained face in curling profusion. The sense of utter desolation and overwhelming fatigue oppressed her so she could not even summon the energy to go to bed, although every nerve in her body ached with a separate pain of its own. She heard the door open behind her.

"Go to bed, Chloe," she said listlessly. "I told you I should not want you any more unless the child waked." Hearing no answer, she looked up into the mirror, and there above her was

reflected her husband's wild, white face, the purplish spot on his cheek glowing with sinister distinctness and his hair disordered and clotted with blood. Screaming she hid her head in her arms, cowed with abject terror at what she believed to be an apparition.

"Woman, make ready, I have come to do the vengeance of the Lord," he said at last, and his voice sounded toneless and unnatural like that of a sleep-walker. "You shall give up that beauty with which you sought to kill men's souls. What you denied me you shall give no man."

The heart seemed to go out of her, and she slipped down to the floor, groveling in her agony of fright. "Ah, don't kill me!" she begged, huddled at his feet. "For the love of Heaven don't kill me, Gordon. You will be so sorry—so sorry afterwards." She threw her white arms around his knees in the insistence of her pleading, and the glory of her golden hair lay along the floor where he stood.

He dragged himself from her clasp. "Back!" he cried, his eyes burning with delirium. "Back, woman! do not try to mesh me in your toils again. I saw you give those tokens to your lover, and by the living God I will shear you of your attractions as Samson should have shorn Delilah, then would he never have been delivered bound to his enemies."

"Ah, spare me just this once!" she pleaded. "I will go away, Gordon; only don't kill me. Oh, for God's sake don't kill me!" she begged, crawling along after him on the floor.

"I will not kill you now," he muttered still in the same dull, cadenceless voice. "Not until I can kill him too, for there is no justice in sending one soul to hell without the other to bear it company. You shall go down with your paramour when your time comes, but it is not yet; stand up, stand up, I say! your gold hair shall wreck no other man's soul!"

"It is not so," she sobbed. "Oh Gordon, you don't believe that of me? You can't believe me that bad?" But half lifting her he pushed her into a chair; then seizing the scissors that lay upon her dressing-table he cut away the heavy masses of hair that hung about her. She could hear the hiss of the scissors as they reft her glory from her, but she had neither strength nor voice left to protest. She felt now that her life was safe for the present, but even in her first relief from the

greater terror vanity asserted itself in a throbbing sense of loss as he strode to the chimney-place and thrust the glittering mass into the heart of the fire. He rammed it down with his heel and in a moment the room was heavy with the stifling odor of burning hair. She watched his movements with fascinated eyes as he disengaged a long gold filament that had caught upon his sleeve-button, and cast that in too, scrupulously examining if any thread remained about his person. Isabel's limbs seemed paralyzed by fear, she could not have moved hand or foot, even to save her life.

When nothing was left but a black mass among the wood-ashes Wickford passed out muttering:

"And I have made a holocaust unto the Lord, a burnt-offering—" and his voice died away as he descended the staircase. Isabel tottered to the door and bolted it before she crawled into bed and covered her head with the blankets. Thus she lay shivering with nervous chills until towards morning, when she dropped at last into a leaden, unrefreshing sleep.

CONSUMMATION OF THE ROMANCE

From 'A Romance of Summer Seas.' Copyright by Harper and Brothers. By permission of the publishers.

So he went off, leaving me alone in the white glory of the tropic night. No words of mine can convey the magic of that moonlight, enveloping everything, and culminating in a glittering path across the water. Every now and then a fish jumped, and I could see its wet sides glitter; or a ghostly gull swept by on silent wings, for when the full moon rides in the southern sky, not even the birds can sleep, but wake and sing their songs fitfully throughout the night.

I walked aft to look at our boiling wake before I went below to call the child. If truth must be told, I was making delays to put off the interview. The peace of the night had fallen upon my soul, and I was even more out of tune with anger than I had been in the lighted cabin. A dispute with so gentle an opponent as Minerva appeared doubly distasteful now, and I began to wonder whether it was necessary after all, and whether my interference would not be quite as likely

to harm as help Ralstone's suit. But as I passed through the shadow of the wheel-house, I stumbled over something solidly black in the circumambient darkness. It was Minerva huddled up on the deck alone.

"Now what on earth are you doing?" I exclaimed. "Get up, child; I want to talk to you seriously." She rose and faced me; in the shadow her eyes gleamed uncannily out of her white face, and the straight folds of her dress fell round her in a fashion that reminded me of a picture I had seen somewhere of Gretchen's wraith on the Blocksberg. It was a disagreeable association, and I caught her hand and pulled her into the moonlight.

"Stop playing spook," I said laughing uncomfortably, "and tell me what you mean by your capers. You have made Ralstone extremely miserable and have given me a mint of trouble by this behavior. I hope you can explain yourself satisfactorily."

She looked up at me without answering, and I saw two great tears well over and sparkle in the moonlight as they fell; then I began to understand how Ralstone lost his head when she cried. But I stood my ground and led her to a seat. I placed myself beside her and began to remonstrate in a fatherly tone, begging her to be a reasonable girl and tell me what had annoyed her; but the child would only sit and cry silently, until I was at my wits' end, and if the truth must be told, at the end of my patience also.

"Very well," I said at last; "if you wish to distress us without rhyme or reason, of course we must bear it patiently. But if you refuse to tell your friends what Miss Starkey said to you, I suppose you understand they can do nothing to protect you against her. However, the idea of taking a dislike to Ralstone on account of this old maid's gossip is perfectly absurd. You have hurt his feelings repeatedly, with no better excuse than your own whims. I should think gratitude would make you sensible to his past consideration, and incline you to make his position as little embarrassing as is possible."

I felt sorry in a minute for what I had said, for she gave a little gasp of surprise and pain; then she sat as still as a hare on its form, and we both sat staring before us. That child had a forty-horse power of silence in her, but I fidgeted

about nervously, and at last took up my parable again in sheer inability to keep quiet any longer.

"Ralstone has been talking to me about you," I said, "and he feels that under the circumstances you would be happier away from each other, so he will get lodgings for you when he reaches Yokohama, where you can remain until we find some escort who can take you home."

"Let it be just as he wishes," she replied listlessly.

Minerva seemed to care so little what became of us that her stolidity angered me anew. "If I were in your place," I answered, "I would cultivate a little gratitude; the virtue is sufficiently rare to be precious and even fashionable. I think you might remember the unselfish tenderness which Ralstone has shown you; the patience with which he has suffered inconvenience for your sake. I can tell you, young lady, it is not every man who would be so chivalrous."

Minerva put her hands to her throat, then she wailed, "Oh, don't you see! It is just because it is best for him that I am willing to go. Do you think I could find any happiness away from him? I never knew that I was a drawback until that day when Miss Starkey spoke to me. I didn't know what people would think and say. I had just grown up loving him always. I couldn't help it, and everybody loves him at home. Everything has been so different since he came. I thought it was because I was thankful to him; but I know now—I know what makes my heart ache so when I think of leaving him." The girl wrung her hands above her head as she went on: "If I only had been like other people, he might have loved me too some day. If I had been pretty and clever, though I never could have been good enough for him; but look at me! Do you think I don't see the difference, how ignorant and badly dressed I am? I know I have given him nothing but trouble since we started, yet he is so kind he pities me. Oh Mr. Bush, can't you see I care for him too much to take advantage of his pity? When he was ill I could love him and serve him as much as I liked; nobody blamed me then; and I was so happy when he began to mend; but to have dragged him down, to have ruined his life! Oh I am so unhappy—so unhappy," she sobbed. "It would have been a thousand times easier to die quietly at home than to go on suffering here. I wish I were

dead—dead and asleep—I am so tired,” she cried, rocking her body to and fro. “If it were not for papa and the children, it would be so easy to slip out—”

Here Minerva broke off suddenly, and looked off at the moonlit water below us with an expression I distrusted. I quietly gripped the folds of her dress, while I tried to calm her excitement and convince her of Ralstone’s genuine affection.

“My child,” I said, “be reasonable. In real life men do not ask girls to marry them from mere sympathy. He told you he loved you, and the least you can do is to believe him.”

“No, he didn’t,” she sobbed, “he never said he loved me, not even then; he only asked me to let him take care of me. It is just the way he wanted to fight those bad men who abused me aboard the *Sultana*.”

“Minerva,” I demanded, “Minerva, answer me directly: ‘who put that into your head?’” She was crying so she could not speak for a moment; then she sobbed out that it was in a letter she had from Miss Starkey.

“She said his sense of honor might make him offer to marry me, but she could not let me ruin another life without showing me what trouble I had already made, and how I had come near killing him and Colonel Guthrie, too. She said they might both have died but for her. I would not let her in, and so she wrote; and oh, I know he only pities me—he does not love me.”

“Well, some people say that pity and love are about the same thing,” I answered, for I felt vastly relieved by her revelations. “Ralstone loves you, be sure of that, whatever he said or left unsaid. Do you suppose any man is fool enough to think of rhetoric when he is proposing? Ralstone didn’t expect you to discuss his admissions and reservations like a lawyer. I don’t know what has come over you, Minerva; you used to be such a confiding little person.”

“No, no,” she protested; “perhaps I might not have understood if Miss Starkey had not warned me. But she is right, that awful woman, I know she is right: I am a discredit to him. See, even the men on the ship hang off from us, and the women treat me as if I were one of the lepers at home—just as if I were really bad. Miss Starkey said the taint would

never leave me all my life; every one would know about me; people would point me out as the girl who nearly caused a duel. She said I must never expect respectable people to have anything to do with me again, but if I went away and repented and people didn't see me with him any more, they could be friends with him just as if he had never heard of me. I know he has done nothing wrong, and I am sure I never meant to harm any one, but if it hurts him I must go away. If he loved me ever so little, the temptation would have been too great. Oh, take me away before I give up and tell him how I love him!—take me away," she pleaded, seizing my hand and lifting her twitching white face to mine.

"Minerva," I said gravely, "I wish you to show me Miss Starkey's letter." The child took it out of her pocket and handed it to me without further urgency.

"I brought it up to give it to you," she said simply; "I could not bear to have you angry with me, too." Then I took her thin little hands in mine and pleaded Ralstone's case with her to the best of my ability, describing all I knew he had suffered and explaining as well as I could the groundlessness of her fears. At first she would only shake her head and ask me if she had a right to buy her own happiness at the cost of his career; Lord, how I shivered when I thought how short that career might be! I found out afterwards all this talk was part of Miss Starkey's thunder. When I ceased talking, Minerva was crying softly, but somehow her tears did not hurt me any longer; they were as gentle as summer rain. A sudden impulse seized me and I determined that if I could help it Ralstone should not go to possible death in Yokohama without having tasted the happiness he deserved, so I said, "Will you wait here for me a minute? It is too dark to read this precious letter; I must go to the light."

"I will wait," she said wearily; and I saw her lay her head on her crossed arms as they rested against the rail. I did not give her time to change her mind, for I ran below and burst into Ralstone's stateroom, exclaiming, "Put your coat on, man! Come on deck! Minerva is up there behind the wheel-house and she loves you!"

The news must have caused a great revulsion in his feeling, for he turned livid at first and clutched at me for support;

then a mighty gladness lit up his face, and struggling into his coat he dashed out of the cabin. Although he confided his sorrow to me, until that night I had never realized how completely Ralstone's happiness was bound up in the child; but this was not remarkable, as rational people are usually at a loss to understand the valuation lovers set on each other. For my part, I have always sympathized with the sentiments of the "Three Jolly Hunters." You remember the ballad. The one said, "They are lovers;" the other he said, "Nay, but two poor wandering lunatics; come, let us go away." When a man recovers from his honeymoon madness, he should feel very grateful to the friends who refused to witness his antics. At any rate, I thought the two youngsters up-stairs could settle their difficulties without further help.

VARINA HOWELL DAVIS

[1826—1906]

CORNELIA BRANCH STONE

TO prepare this sketch is a duty that falls to me as the head of a great organization, which seeks to preserve the glorious memories of the war between the States—that valiant struggle of “a day that is dead,” in which the people of the South counted no sacrifice too great for the defense of constitutional government and individual rights, and out of which were born to the American people some of the noblest types of character that the world has ever known. Among these, standing out in bold relief, are Davis, Lee and Jackson. With this thrilling time the name of Varina Howell Davis is inseparably linked, for she shared, with our great chieftain and leader, the glory and honor of achievement, together with the sorrow and humiliation of defeat. Descended from a long line of distinguished ancestry, Mrs. Davis inherited those strong, heroic qualities of character that enabled her to bear, with matchless fortitude, the varying fortunes of her eventful life. Her grandfather was Richard Howell, a gallant soldier of the Revolution, and Governor of New Jersey. His son, William Burr Howell, the father of Mrs. Jefferson Davis, served under Commodore Decatur, in the War of 1812—winning distinction in the engagements on the great lakes. Later he settled in Natchez, Mississippi, where he married Margaret Louise Kempe, a woman of strong character and charming personality, the daughter of Colonel James Kempe, an Irish gentleman of classical education, who commanded a company at the Battle of New Orleans. The first son of Colonel and Mrs. Howell was named Joseph Davis Howell, for the eldest brother of Jefferson Davis, for whom Colonel Howell had formed a warm and lasting friendship; and in after years a younger son bore the name of Jefferson Davis Howell, thus uniting these two names which were to be historically linked in the marriage tie.

The daughter of this house, Varina Howell, was born in Natchez, Mississippi, May 7, 1826. When she was old enough to consider her education, which was a problem not easy of solution, as, owing to the scarcity of good schools, there was no “royal road” to learning, she was fortunate in securing the gratuitous instruction of a friend of her father’s, Judge George Winchester, of Salem, Massachusetts.

He was a man of scholarly attainments, of whom Mrs. Davis speaks in her writings as "a saintly man, an eminent lawyer, an incorruptible jurist, a strong thinker, and a devoted, self-sacrificing friend." Attracted by her receptive, comprehensive mind, he took charge of her studies for twelve years and led her into the paths of knowledge, by difficult methods, perhaps, such as a learned man would adopt. These prepared her to be the helpmate of the great soldier and statesman whose life and fate she shared. At Madame Greenland's School, in Philadelphia, her education was continued with exceptional advantages.

She first met Jefferson Davis when she was seventeen and he thirty-six, at the plantation of his brother Joseph Davis, where she was making a visit, and two years later, on February 26, 1845, they were married. At this time began the remarkable career of Jefferson Davis, with which Mrs. Davis was so closely identified that it became the history of her own life; for in the following December he took his seat in Congress, as a Representative from the State of Mississippi. For twenty years thereafter he was continuously in the public service—as Senator, then in the Cabinet of President Pierce, as Secretary of War, and again in the Senate, a political career interrupted by one year's service in the Mexican War, where he won renown and was largely instrumental in securing the victories that made Zachary Taylor President. In this field of action the young wife of a year met her first sacrifice, awaiting in prayerful anxiety his return from the dangers of Buena Vista's field, from which he brought both wounds and honors.

Those were happy years of official life in Washington, for assembled there, at that period, was a notable galaxy of statesmen, scholars and orators, the equal of which this country has never known. Among these Jefferson Davis was the peer of the most prominent, as is attested by his distinguished record in the United States Senate and as Secretary of War. The social contact of such minds was for Mrs. Davis an educational opportunity which cannot be over-estimated, for she heard the daily discussion of all the great and vital questions that then agitated the country, thus fitting and enriching her mind for the work of after years. But from this congenial life there was a sad awakening, for the "irrepressible conflict" was on, and the Southern States realized that their constitutional rights were no longer safe within the Union, and decided to secede and resume their delegated powers. The secession of South Carolina was followed by Mississippi, on January 9, 1861, and Senator Davis was called to his State to take command of her troops, with the rank of Major-general. This severance of the ties of the Union was a sore trial to Mr. Davis and his wife, for the-

loved its glorious history, its flag, and he had a grateful appreciation of the honors it had conferred upon him. Like General Lee, however, he recognized no higher claim upon his loyalty than that which was due his State, and after vainly pleading before the Senate for some guarantee to the Southern States that their constitutional rights would be respected, he sadly bade farewell to the dear associates of many years and returned with his wife to "Briarfield," his plantation home, to make provision for the comfort and care of his servants. While there he received notice of his election to the office of President of the Confederate States of America, and leaving Mrs. Davis to follow, he went to Montgomery, Alabama, where on February eighteenth he was formally inaugurated, accepting this unsought honor with a full realization of the responsibilities and sacrifices involved. The history of the four stormy years of the life of the young Confederacy cradled in bloodshed—its lullaby the booming of cannon and the roar of artillery—has told the world of how well he kept the trust. In all of triumph and victory, disaster and defeat, Mrs. Davis took, with courage and fortitude, her full share.

When Mr. Davis entered upon his Presidential duties there were three children in their home—Margaret Howell Davis, Jefferson Davis, Jr., and Joseph Evan Davis; their eldest child, Samuel Emory Davis, having died when two years of age. Soon after the removal of the capital to Richmond, another son, William Howell Davis, was born, and to the increasing cares of motherhood was added the grief of losing her son, Joseph Evan Davis, who died in 1864.

Into the darkness of the last year of the Confederacy, when its fall was foreshadowed and the clouds were gathering thick and fast around the great chieftain, while the peerless Lee was bending every energy to prevent the capture of Richmond, Varina Anne Davis, always known as "Winnie," was born. This marked an epoch in the lives of these parents, so weighted with trials and reverses, for she was to be the light of many dark days of the future. Then came the end, when that glorious fabric of Confederacy was crushed to earth—its banner furled—its chieftain a captive in prison walls—and ruin and desolation all over the Southern land. Still, with faith sublime, she trusted, and sought the speedy trial and release of the beloved prisoner in Fortress Monroe. This she could not accomplish, although no charge against him could be established, and he endured hardships and humiliations for two long years. She plead for the privilege of sharing his imprisonment, and during the last year of his captivity this was granted, and she was with him, cheering and encouraging and bringing back to vital force the enfeebled body, so wasted by confinement and prison food. Into the dark walls of his prison cell there came, too, the winsome "Winnie,"

the prattling babe, the flower of the Confederacy, illuminating its gloomy depths with ineffable radiance.

Through the generous interest and effort of former opponents of Mr. Davis who were touched by a sense of justice, his release was secured; and with broken health and ruined fortune, yet declining all offers of assistance from his people who loved him so well, he resolved to maintain his family by his own efforts. Through these trying years Mrs. Davis, as his faithful companion and comforter, fully met the demands of misfortune as she had his years of success; and whether as the wife of Senator, Cabinet officer, or "Mistress of the White House of the Confederacy," or the "Martha" in the management of the domestic affairs of her home, she maintained the same dignity and strength of character. Easy and charming in conversation, she could draw at will on a well-stored mind, and was well fitted for her service as amanuensis to Mr. Davis, while he wrote 'The Rise and Fall of the Confederacy.' Into the quiet and retirement of Beauvoir came further sorrow in the death of their youngest son, William Howell Davis, in 1873; then three years later the loss of their last son, Jefferson Davis, Jr., a young man of excellent character and rich promise, brought added affliction to the martyr parents.

At last the great sacrifice was demanded of her, when the noble heart of Jefferson Davis was stilled. Alone with "Winnie" she bravely took up life again. Her first service was in his behalf, for she felt that his motives and actions had been "greatly and strangely misconceived," and while he had borne injustice with patience and calmness, she made it her mission to defend his name and fame from the enemies who had assailed it. To this end she wrote and published, in two volumes, her 'Memoirs of Jefferson Davis,' in which she presents him as he was—"the great soldier, marked and fitted for more than fame; the citizen, fashioned in the old faithful type; the Christian, who was a lover of all high and righteous things."

In this labor of love, her first and greatest literary work, her purpose has been fully met; and so ably and gracefully has she wielded her pen, that she has been accorded a high place among Southern writers as a woman of rare ability, of chaste and finished style, and a master delineator of character, as shown in her descriptions of the great men with whom she came in contact during the official life of her distinguished husband.

Because her literary work, and that of her daughter "Winnie," could be better conducted in New York, and for other potent reasons, Mrs. Davis decided to make her home in that city, where she contributed to magazines and periodicals many articles of value.

After years of literary labor, in which she and "Winnie" both had recognition, she was again called to "pass under the rod"—when "Winnie," her sole companion, in the beauty and bloom of her young womanhood was taken from her. The sorrow of the eight years that followed, before she was at rest, cannot be told, but in this, as in all other trials that came to her, the people of the South were in close sympathy.

Of the six children, four sons and two daughters, born to President and Mrs. Davis, there survives only Mrs. Margaret Jefferson Davis Hayes—a woman of rare graces of mind and heart, and of finished culture. On account of the health of Mr. Hayes, they make their home in Colorado. They have two sons and two daughters, and by act of Legislature the eldest son bears the name of Jefferson Davis, and it is the hope of the people of the South that he may, with the name, inherit the pure and upright character of his illustrious grandfather.

Before the death of Mrs. Davis, which occurred October 16, 1906, she gave to the State of Mississippi, as a Home for Confederate Soldiers, beautiful Beauvoir, the last home of Jefferson Davis; thus paying to that State a touching tribute in memory of the honors bestowed on the name of Davis, and as a loving memorial to the veterans of that cause for which, with her beloved people, all, save honor, had been sacrificed.

The work that she did, the life that she lived, must point upward as an inspiration and example of loftiness and nobility of character, for without murmur she bravely faced the conditions of life, and with heroic faith met all of its trials until called to her eternal rest.

Cornelia Branch Stone

VISIT OF CALHOUN, 1845

All selections are taken from 'Jefferson Davis; A Memoir.' Copyright by Mrs. Jefferson Davis. By kind permission of the owner of the copyright.

MR. JOHN C. CALHOUN had always been such a strict constructionist of the Constitution that encroachment, in defiance of the restrictions imposed upon the appropriation by Congress of money to improve one state or harbor at the expense of the rest, had been with him a constant cause of excited debate whenever such propositions were urged. About this time the effort had been renewed to obtain grants for the improvement of the different harbors on the Lakes, and especially that of Chicago, which was just then beginning to be built up into a city. On this subject there was a good deal of feeling between the Southern and Southwestern States.

Before attending a commercial convention in Cincinnati, Mr. Calhoun had in some measure changed his views, and in a speech in his journey through the West and South (before the convention at Cincinnati) he justified the appropriation for the Lakes, and suggested one for Mississippi River, because they were all "inland seas." Great was the confusion of his allies and adherents throughout the Democratic party: they looked upon the proposition as class legislation, not justified by the Constitution, and a latitudinarian construction of this instrument by him was as though Moses had altered the Commandments. In this state of feeling he drew nigh to Vicksburg in his tour, and my husband was invited to welcome him.

Mr. Davis had known Mr. Calhoun with some degree of intimacy since 1836, and received his cadet's warrant from him. Strongly opposed to internal improvements by the General Government, Mr. Davis meant to be very circumspect in what he said, and also to avoid having to write out his speech for the reporters afterwards. He pondered and dictated it to me, and the delivery was to consume half an hour. The "inland seas" were gracefully left to take care of their own shores, and the speech, as written, had an amount of pretty imagery and lofty rhetoric in it, that, to my girlish taste, was as wonderful as it was charming. It had the usual stanzas of poetry, and the ship of state tossing, as it does for all young orators, on a stormy sea, while the statesman addressed took

its bearing and brought it "safe into port!" The speech was, at last, clearly written out in my best hand, and the pages numbered. It was my glorious privilege to be permitted to perpetuate such eloquence! We then prepared our house for a long absence, and commenced our journey to Washington, taking with us our niece, Miss Mary Bradford.

We reached Vicksburg in the afternoon of the night that was to bring Mr. Calhoun to us. A numerous company of elegant people, who had come in from forty miles around Vicksburg, were gathered in a public hall. Dr. William M. Gwinn and his handsome young wife were there, and numbers I did not know. The boat was delayed, and the guest of the evening did not arrive until the large assemblage were tired out. Then, after rustlings, cranings of necks, and whispered remonstrances at the delay, the door opened, and the committee, escorting Mr. Calhoun, entered.

My Whig proclivities had inclined me to be coolly civil to the stern zealot with whom I could feel no sympathy; but when Mr. Calhoun, with head erect, cast his eagle eyes over the crowd, I felt like rising up to do homage to a king among men. His head was long rather than broad, the ears were placed low upon it, the depth from front to back was very great; his forehead was low, steep, and beetled squarely over the most glorious pair of yellow brown shining eyes, that seemed to have a light inherent in themselves; they looked steadily out from under bushy eyebrows that made the deep sockets look still more sunken. When excited, the pupils filled the iris and made his eyes seem black. He lowered them less than any one I have ever seen; they were steadily bent on the object with which he was engaged; indeed, on some people they had an almost mesmeric power.

He wore his thick hair all the same length, and rather long, combed straight back from his forehead. This, with his brilliant eyes and unflinching gaze, gave his head the expression of an eagle's. His mouth was wide and straight; he rarely smiled, and the firm, square chin and grave manner made a personality striking in the extreme. He was tall and slenderly built, quick and alert in both speech and movement, but mind and body were so equally and rarely adjusted to each other that no dignity could be more supreme than Mr. Calhoun's.

His voice was not musical; it was the voice of a professor of mathematics, and suited his didactic discourse admirably. He made few gestures, but those nervous, gentlemanly hands seemed to point the way to empire. He always appeared to me rather as a moral and mental abstraction than a politician, and it was impossible, knowing him well, to associate him with mere personal ambition. His theories and his sense of duty alone dominated him.

Now the forthcoming speech of welcome was to be delivered, and I was the first time to hear my husband address an assembly. Dread was the prevailing feeling. The world had not then given its *imprimatur* to him, and I felt like a mute inglorious Columbus who had discovered a new continent, and that my Eldorado was to enrich the millions. He had asked me not to look at him while speaking, so I heard only his beautiful voice, expressive of respectful regard in every tone. He greeted the great statesman with a few words of personal and general welcome, and then began, in rather a slow manner, evidently trying to remember the aforesaid speech; but as he progressed his voice grew round and clearer until it filled the large hall to the echo. Without pausing for a word, he passed in rapid review the tariff, the currency, the probable addition of Texas to the Union—which was then an exciting theme—as there were many opponents of the measure. He did not even look askance at nullification, nor internal improvements by the General Government, but made a strong appeal for strict construction of the Constitution, and an eloquent statement of the power, the glory, and the danger of our country; a short review of Mr. Calhoun's career as Secretary of War, Senator, and Vice-President; and then came to the home-stretch with State Rights sails all set and Mr. Calhoun at the helm.

Round after round of applause greeted the orator, and then Mr. Calhoun deliberately arose. After the enthusiastic greeting had subsided, amid profound silence, I heard him for the first time. His language was plain to poverty; he never used a trope or simile; and seemed to argue as though alone with one man, and he a devoted patriot, who only aimed to know the right to do it with all his might.

Mr. Calhoun made no appeals to any emotion. The duty of a citizen to the State was his theme; the reward he offered

was the consciousness of having performed it faithfully. He spoke so fast, in words so concise, that the loss of one or two rendered it hard to follow him. He borrowed nothing from the style or thoughts of authors of the past or present. It was the chart of his faith which he turned toward us and explained its bearings, taking it for granted we were to sail with him; and I do not think any one present would have hesitated then to do so.

When the applause which followed subsided a little, he passed from one lady to another, saying to each a few words without a trace of gallantry; yet, though he was gray and much emaciated, the fire within made him seem hardly to have reached middle age. He devoted a little more time than to others to the wife of the orator of the evening, and his manner was so paternal and full of indulgent sympathy that I found myself telling him what a grief it was to contemplate my first separation from my mother. He spoke of a daughter named Cornelia, near my age, who loved him better than any one else, and told some little anecdotes of her, and of his brilliant Anna, who married Mr. Clemens.

Thus began a friendship which lasted through his life, and was attested by long letters on governmental subjects, written as though to an intellectual equal. It was one of the sources of his power over the youth of the country that he assumed nothing except a universal, honest, co-intelligence between him and the world, and his conversation with a girl was on the same subjects as with a statesman. His perceptions were so quick, however, that after a few words in response to him he would interject, "Yes, yes, I know what you mean," and proceed to answer at once to the unexpressed opinion. His letters were all lost during the war; but it was I and not posterity that sustained the misfortune, for his handwriting, though it looked neat, was almost undecipherable. I once sent him back his letter to read for me, and he responded, "I know what I think on this subject, but cannot decipher what I wrote."

These two speeches, the third I had ever heard—the first was one by Sargent Prentiss—excited me greatly; but when a lull came, a certain pity for the loss to the world of the written speech over which we had toiled so industriously came upon me. Not one word had been repeated of all the very fine things

I had indited in a fair hand—and all for nothing! However, the amateur reporters had entirely forgotten their object, and neglected to give the speech as it was delivered; we had no time to rewrite it, so the other was printed instead. If still in existence, it will be a thing of joy to the young people, but very unlike the address, or any other Mr. Davis ever made afterward.

From that day forth no speech was ever written for delivery. Dates and names were jotted down on two or three inches of paper, and these sufficed. Mr. Davis's speeches never read as they were delivered; he spoke fast, and thoughts crowded each other closely; a certain magnetism of manner and the exceeding beauty and charm of his voice moved the multitude, and there were apparently no inattentive or indifferent listeners. He had one power that I have never seen excelled; while speaking, he took in the individuality of the crowd, and seeing doubt or a lack of coincidence with him in their faces, he answered the mental dissonance with arguments addressed to the case in their minds. He was never tiresome, because, as he said, he "gave close attention to the necessity of stopping when he was done."

Only so much of his eloquence has survived as was indifferently reported. The spirit of the graceful periods was lost. He was a parenthetical speaker, which was a defect in a written oration, but did not, when uttered, impair the quality of his speeches, but rather added a charm when accentuated by his voice and commended by his gracious manner. At first his style was ornate, and poetry and fiction were pressed from his crowded memory into service; but it soon changed into a plain and stronger cast, what he considered to be, and doubtless was, the higher kind of oratory. His extempore addresses are models of grace and ready command of language;

THE SENATE IN 1845

MR. CALHOUN never willingly engaged in these tilts. He was anxious about the policy which he thought it best to adopt; for this he pleaded with hurried, earnest, clear reasoning, never hesitating for a word, or indulging in any unnecessary blame or personalities. If he was misunderstood, he arose in an enthusiastic, quick manner, and repeated his assertion *verbatim*. Mr. Benton had no admiration for his political theses, but utter confidence in his simple honesty, and so they generally came to a friendly armistice.

Mr. Davis, only a few years ago, wrote of Mr. Calhoun: "In my early manhood I enjoyed his personal acquaintance, and perhaps more of his consideration, from the fact that as Secretary of War, he gave me the appointment as a cadet.

"When, in 1845, I entered the House of Representatives, he was a Senator. I frequently visited him at his lodgings. His conversation was both instructive and peculiarly attractive. He and his colleague, the impulsive, brilliant orator, Mr. McDuffie, did not fully concur on the great question of the day—notice to Great Britain to terminate the joint occupancy of Oregon—and their comparison of views, which, on one occasion I was permitted to hear, was deeply interesting."

It will be remembered that Mr. Calhoun was induced to leave the repose his impaired health required, and return to the Senate, because of the threatened danger of war with Great Britain. War was to him an evil which only the defence of the honor and rights of his country would justify. That made him the advocate of the War of 1812, but in 1845 he saw no justification, and was therefore in favor of negotiation, by which it was believed the evils of war could be avoided without sacrifice of the honor or rights of our country.

As a Senator he was a model of courtesy; he listened attentively to each one who spoke, neither reading nor writing when in his seat, and, while his health permitted, was punctual and constant in attendance. He conducted his correspondence by rising at dawn and writing his letters before breakfast. Had he been the Senator of a new state, this would hardly have been possible.

Issues growing out of the disposal of the public lands

within the states occupied much of the time of Congress, and for this and more important reasons, he proposed, for certain conditions, to surrender the public lands to the new states in which they lay. This was but another exhibition of his far-reaching wisdom and patriotism, as shown by his argument for the measure. Always earnest, often intense in debate, he never practiced *ad captandum* devices, seldom sought the aid of illustration, simile, or quotation, but concisely and in logical sequence stated his views like one demonstrating a problem, the truth of which was so clear to his mind that he could not doubt its acceptance by all who listened to the proof. Perhaps he was too little of a party man to believe, as the English parliamentarian said, that he had known opinions, but had not known votes to be changed by a speech.

Wide as was his knowledge, great as was his wisdom, reaching toward prophetic limit, his opinions were but little derived from books or conversation. Data he gathered on every hand, but his ideas were the elaboration of his brain, were as much his own as is honey, not of the leaf, but of the bag of the bee.

Mr. Cass, who was a very large, fleshy person, always warm, and obliged to use a fan, which was the largest palm-leaf that I ever saw, fanned himself industriously until some one either attacked his resolutions or his political record; then, in clear, statesmanlike logic, very devoid of ornamentation or rhetoric, he said what he thought; but, if one after another sprung into the debate, the contention somewhat confused him and he was not at his best. No one wrote better than Mr. Cass.

He was one of the kindest-hearted men in the world, and if he had to say no to any one, could not do it in person, but dismissed the applicant, who, friendly but uncertain, waited, quite buoyed up by hope, to receive in a few hours a courteous though decided refusal. Mr. Cass was testy sometimes, but it was the testiness of an overworked man, not an ill-natured one. Nothing annoyed him like being called a "Michigander"; he said the name was suggestive.

Mr. Webster sat to the right of Mr. Cass, and no words can describe the first impression he made upon me. I had heard of him, and spent long hours in reading aloud his speeches

in the *National Intelligencer* when a mere child, and to see him was like looking at the Jungfrau, or any other splendid natural phenomenon. There was no doubt as to where he sat, for the conviction of his identity was forced upon one when he turned his massive, overhanging forehead, with those great speculative, observant eyes full of lambent fire. He was as careful as a woman about the delicate neatness of his attire. He generally wore a dress coat, well adjusted and of the finest material, spotless linen, and silk stockings with slippers, which in those days were called "pumps," tied in a bow on the instep of his shapely feet.

He, like Mr. Calhoun, always listened most attentively to any Senator who was speaking; but Mr. Webster, except when Mr. Calhoun or some other intellectual giant had the floor, had the air of protecting indulgence that a superior being might wear to an inferior. He was rarely offensive, but sometimes showed a dignified indulgence to weakness that was hard to bear. He never was voluble. A strong instance of the brevity of his wit was given once, when it had been expected that Mr. Webster would be nominated for the Presidency, but Messrs. Bell and Everett were chosen for the ticket. After the nomination was made, some people went up to Mr. Webster's house to serenade him. He was irritated and disappointed, and had just composed himself to sleep when the Marine Band blared out "Hail to the Chief." He did not appear for some time, and when the cries of "Webster! Webster!" became tumultuous, he put his head out of the window and said: "My friends, the sun rules the day, and mankind watches his coming and going; but where, can you tell me where, the stars go in the morning?—they are seen no more. Good night." So he shut the window and retired.

Mr. Benton used to get very tired of the long speeches in the Senate, for he, too, listened attentively. One day a certain Senator, who spoke on all occasions, and for hours at a time, had consumed the day and worn out every one. As the dusk lowered upon the hall Mr. Benton arose, and in his deep voice moved an adjournment. "For," said he, in his grand manner, "we are worse than the villeins, sir, worse than the villeins; they had their allotted time for work, but we are kept here, sir, until the stars shine out." But there was an hour

in the day that came to be recognized as one that Mr. Benton would have. About midday, or perhaps three o'clock, he always rose and left the chamber to take his paralyzed wife out for an airing. Generally he brought her, with infinite tenderness, to the Capitol grounds, seated her on a bench in a pleasant shade, and no young lover could try more sedulously than he to amuse and comfort her. She seemed to be most happy when with him, and it was a familiar sight to see him picking flowers for her as they first peeped up in the early spring. He introduced me to a lady once—"Mrs. C., a friend of my wife's, madam; need I say more?"

I met him at an unusual hour one day going toward the Senate, and said, "You are unusually late, are you not?" "Yes," said he, "my wife would not let me go until I took her to Jessie Anne's (Mrs. Frémont). Jessie Anne is a charming woman, and my wife is a judge of women, madam—a judge of women." He had a habit of accentuating his opinions or remarks by repetition. He was one of the very few great men who did not lose something by close proximity; he certainly was a power among men.

NEARING THE END

DARKNESS seemed now to close swiftly over the Confederacy, and about a week before the evacuation of Richmond, Mr. Davis came to me and gently, but decidedly, announced the necessity for our departure. He said for the future his headquarters must be in the field, and that our presence would only embarrass and grieve, instead of comforting him. Very averse to flight, and unwilling at all times to leave him, I argued the question with him and pleaded to be permitted to remain, until he said: "I have confidence in your capacity to take care of our babies, and understand your desire to assist and comfort me, but you can do this in but one way, and that is by going yourself and taking our children to a place of safety." He was very much affected and said, "If I live you can come to me when the struggle is ended, but I do not expect to survive the destruction of constitutional liberty."

He had a little gold, and reserving a five-dollar piece for himself, he gave it all to me, as well as all the Confederate

money due him. He desired me not to request any of the citizens of Richmond to take care of my silver plate, of which we possessed a large quantity, for, said he, "They may be exposed to inconvenience or outrage by their effort to serve us."

All women like bric-a-brac, which sentimental people call their "household goods," but Mr. Davis called it "trumpery." I was not superior to the rest of my sex in this regard. However, everything which could not be readily transported was sent to a dealer for sale, and we received quite a large draft on a Richmond bank as the proceeds, but in the hurry of departure the check was not cashed, and I have it now.

Leaving the house as it was, and taking only our clothing, I made ready with my young sister and my four little children, the eldest only nine years old, to go forth into the unknown. Mr. Burton N. Harrison, the President's private secretary, was to protect and see us safely settled in Charlotte, where we had hired a furnished house. Mr. George A. Trenholm's lovely daughters were also to accompany us to remain with friends there.

I had bought several barrels of flour, and intended to take them with me, but Mr. Davis said, "You cannot remove anything in the shape of food from here, the people want it, and you must leave it here."

The deepest depression had settled upon the whole city; the streets were almost deserted.

The day before our departure Mr. Davis gave me a pistol and showed me how to load, aim, and fire it. He was very apprehensive of our falling into the hands of the disorganized bands of troops roving about the country, and said, "You can at least, if reduced to the last extremity, force your assailants to kill you, but I charge you solemnly to leave when you hear the enemy are approaching; and if you cannot remain undisturbed in our own country, make for the Florida Coast and take a ship there for a foreign country."

With hearts bowed down by despair, we left Richmond. Mr. Davis almost gave way when our little Jeff begged to remain with him, and Maggie clung to him convulsively, for it was evident he thought he was looking his last upon us.

In those days a special train was not contemplated, for the transportation was now very limited, and as we pulled out from

the station and lost sight of Richmond, the worn-out engine broke down, and there we sat all night. There were no arrangements possible for sleeping and at last, after twelve hours' delay, we reached Danville. A hospitable and wealthy citizen of that place invited me to rest with his family, but we gratefully declined and proceeded to Charlotte.

The baggage cars were all needing repairs and leaked badly. Our bedding was wet through by the constant rains that poured down in the week of uninterrupted travel which was consumed in reaching our destination. Universal consternation prevailed throughout the country, and we avoided seeing people for fear of compromising them with the enemy, should they overrun North Carolina. We found everything packed up in the house we had rented, but the agent, Mr. A. Weill, an Israelite, came to meet us there, and gave us every assistance in his power; and when he found there were no conveniences for cooking, he sent our meals from his own house for several days, refusing, with many cordial words, any offer to reimburse him for the expense incurred, and he offered money or any other service he could render. This acknowledgment of his kindness is, to some extent, a relief to my heart, which has borne his goodness in grateful memory for twenty-five years.

Mr. Harrison, after seeing us safely established in Charlotte, fearing he might be separated from Mr. Davis, and hoping to be of use, set out for Richmond to rejoin him.

* * * * *

As hope died out in the breasts of the rank and file of the Confederate Army, the President's courage rose, and he was fertile in expedients to supply deficiencies, and calm in the contemplation of the destruction of his dearest hopes, and the violent death he expected to be his.

As late as April 1, 1865, he wrote to General Lee from Richmond, of the difficulty of finding iron enough to keep the Tredegar works employed, and said: "There is also difficulty in getting iron even for shot and shell, but I hope this may for the present be overcome by taking some from the Navy, which under the altered circumstances may be spared. . . . The question is often asked, 'will we hold Richmond,' to which my answer is, if we can; it is purely a question of military power. The distrust is increasing, and embarrasses in many ways."

Events now rapidly culminated in the overwhelming disaster he and our brave people had striven so energetically to avert. The gloom was impenetrable.

The siege of Petersburg was hotly pressed by the enemy, and there were many splendid instances of gallantry, but for want of space I can only cite that of Battery Gregg, which repulsed assault after assault—the Mississippians, Georgians, North Carolinians, and Louisianians, who had won honors on many fields, fought this, their last battle, with most terrible enthusiasm, as if feeling it to be for them the last act in the great drama.

Two hundred against five thousand, the odds were fearful, but they were animated by a noble purpose and had no thought of abandoning their post.

Fort Gregg fell, and but few of its brave defenders survived, but those two hundred men had placed *hors de combat* eight hundred men of Gibbon's corps.*

On the day it fell, General A. P. Hill, our intrepid, skilful, handsome soldier, accompanied by a single courier, while endeavoring to join his troops at Five Forks, ran across two Federal soldiers. Upon demanding their surrender, they shot him down and then retreated. His body was brought back to Petersburg by his faithful courier,† and the country's mourning was proportionate to her need of him, and her high estimate of his skilful generalship. Our consolation was that he was saved the pang of Appomattox. General Lee now telegraphed President Davis that he could no longer hold the lines of Petersburg, and would leave them at night, and that this would necessitate the evacuation of Richmond.

The enemy kept up an incessant fire upon the lines all day, and made many unsuccessful assaults, ceasing his efforts only at night-fall.

At twelve o'clock that night, the last man and the last gun of the brave army that had defended the lines of Petersburg for a twelve-month passed over the pontoon bridge and the retreat began that ended at Appomattox.

*Colonel Miller Owens: In Camp and Battle.

†General Gibbon so informed General Wilcox at Appomattox.

MR. DAVIS'S CHARACTERISTICS

LIKE most people of keen perceptions, incisive wit, and high ideal standards, Mr. Davis was inclined to satire, and in his younger days indulged this propensity, never cruelly, but often to his own injury. His sense of the ludicrous was intense, his powers of observation were close, and his memory was phenomenal. He seldom forgot a face, name, or circumstance. If he travelled over a country once, he knew the topography of that part which he traversed, the trees that indicated the character of the soil, noted the grasses indigenous there, observed the kinds of domestic stock preferred, the general characteristics of the people, their occupations, their sources of wealth, and even their means of water-supply. With a mind ever alert and discriminating, he took to himself, never to be relinquished, all that nature and art spread out before him.

Always delicately *soigné* in his own person, he observed the lack of neatness in others, and was prone to see in it an indication of mental characteristics. Once when describing a poor man who came to him for a loan, he said, "He was miserably poor, but his threadbare coat was brushed and his copperas linsey trousers and his horny hands were clean, so I gave him the money." Mr. Davis observed the dress of ladies very closely, but could not describe one which displeased him except by saying, "It was very high-colored, out-setting, and full of tags, and you could see her afar off," by which he meant there were flying ribbons, and she had a "loud" expression.

There were few more shrewd judges of character than he, but he was not apt to be misled by some qualities he admired and infer the rest, and was thus sometimes mistaken in his judgment. He was himself so consistent that he could not understand the incongruities of others. If he found a man sincere in one thing, or the opposite, it was impossible for him to believe that, swayed by a powerful motive, the reverse action could be adopted without all he attributed to him being forfeited; consequently, after every defection of a friend he suffered keenly. Faithful in his lightest profession of regard, and retentive of his friendships, he was deeply wounded by the duplicity of those he had trusted—not expressedly bit-

ter, for pride and reticence, both of which were unusually developed in him, prevented his asking for sympathy by showing his wound—but some keen satire, or general reflection upon the faithfulness of men, would attest his discovery, or the remark, “All men are not built like martyrs,” would show his contempt.

He noticed every shade of expression that passed athwart the faces of those with whom he held intercourse. Once, when a general came to him to set forth his superior officer’s mistakes, and ended his long story with, “It is only a matter of patriotic interest, of course there is nothing personal to me involved,” he was bowed out civilly and Mr. Davis said: “He came to ask for General ——’s place.” On my expressing astonishment, he laughed and answered, “I do not mean that he said so, only he seemed to be too full of expedients to gain a victory, and to suffer too much over the General’s neglect of his opportunities.” In a few days a newspaper contained the criticism Mr. Davis had listened to, with a suggestion of the name of the critic to fill the place not likely to be vacant.

No young man ever came to him with a tale of injustice, or sorrowful experience, without finding a sympathetic listener, and, while he had the means, a liberal contributor to necessities which had been implied or stated.

It was a rule of his house that no one should be turned away hungry, however undeserving or unattractive. A child’s cry of pain would make him quiver from head to foot. A tear on the cheek of one of his house, or a downcast look, caused him to inquire into the trouble, and sometimes his attempts to do justice were embarrassing enough.

Sometimes, when he was reading his mail, I heard a groan and a muttered exclamation, “Poor creature, and my hands are tied!” It was always some appeal for help over which he was distressing himself.

He was excitable, but not petulant, easily persuaded where to yield did not involve a principle, and was more stern toward himself than to any other. His methods of showing sympathy were sometimes eccentric. Once in the street, a gentleman beggar asked him for the twentieth time for twenty-five cents. He took his arm and walked a square, remonstrating in this wise: “It mortifies me to see you lowered in

this way. I will give you five dollars, and you can let me off with twenty applications, and feel more comfortable."

To his family he was niggardly in nothing, but his personal self-denial was unusual; keenly alive to the pleasure of luxury, he denied himself all that our love permitted him to relinquish. He rarely made known a personal want.

His piety was of the kind that vaunts not itself, but was the rule of his life. He forbore with those beneath him until patience ceased to be a virtue; but with his equals he asserted and enforced his rights. He was extremely reticent, always saying less than he thought, but was very careful to convey the exact truth in the little he expressed. He was courteous in the extreme to everyone, and his servants used commonly to express their appreciation of this by saying that he was "a very fine gentleman."

In portraying the character of Mr. Davis it is difficult to place a just estimate upon his noble qualities without appearing rather as a panegyrist than a witness.

Forty-three years of intimate companionship, from the beginning of his political career until the end, left me with the profoundest respect for his unswerving mental and moral integrity, his stanch adherence to principle, his self-immolating devotion to duty, his calm, invincible courage, his wide sympathy with mankind, and his reverence for his Creator.

In the greatest effort of his life, Mr. Davis failed from the predominance of some of these noble qualities.

His foresight showed him the risks of secession, and his sincerity bade him proclaim them, while his courage urged him to attempt resistance to wrong against the world in arms, and his piety held out the hope that God would miraculously shield us. He cheerfully resigned everything and asserted a principle which, however it may now be derided, he knew was vital to the liberties of mankind.

No man doubted then that his election to the office of President of the United States would be the swift reward of his proving recreant to the interests of his own people; but he sacrificed the labors and ambitions of his life to the maintenance of his faith. His family who survive him were engulfed in the common disaster and utter ruin, but are proud of his record, and hopefully await the verdict of posterity.

FRANCIS WARRINGTON DAWSON*

[1840—1889]

J. C. HEMPHILL

A BRITON by birth, a South Carolinian by adoption and sympathy, a Charlestonian by residence, a journalist by profession, Francis Warrington Dawson was one of the most notable men of his time, and the impress of his work and genius remain to this day. He was born in London, May 17, 1840; he was murdered in Charleston, March 12, 1889. His life was romantic, his death tragic. Whatever he was, he was with his whole heart; whatever he did, he did with all the devotion of an intense nature. Whether witlings scoffed at him or men of low degree defamed him, he preserved throughout the enthusiasm of his soul and longed only after those things which would contribute to the high ideals of civic righteousness and loyalty he held ever uppermost in his mind. In his boyhood he lived in London very much as other boys, attending the better schools of the Metropolis, educating himself in the larger and better university of the surging millions all about him, and whetting his powers of observation upon the human nature discovering itself in multiform manifestations to those who read its riddles with appreciation. Whether sailing his boats in Hyde Park as a sturdy lad, or rejoicing in the drama as presented by the most distinguished of English artists, or feeding his soul upon the harmonies of great composers, or training his pen, with which in after years he was to lead the political thought of a proud people, he was ever steadfast of purpose and true to himself. His father's people were of the Church and his mother's of the Army, and it was doubtless because of this mixed strain in his blood that he entertained so deep a reverence for sacred things and so bold a courage in the storm and stress of battle. His genius was constructive, his life sacrificial, his death heroic.

Why did he come to this country? Let him speak for himself. In his 'Reminiscences of Confederate Service,' "printed for private circulation," in 1882, "and written at the request of my wife, Sarah Morgan Dawson, and for her dear sake," he said: "I had a sincere sympathy with the Southern people in their struggle for inde-

*It has seemed best in this sketch not to separate the biographical material and illustrative literary extracts.—C. W. K.

pendence, and felt that it would be a pleasant thing to help them to secure their freedom. I expected no reward and wanted none, and had no intention of remaining permanently in the Southern States." So intent was he upon his service that he shipped as a common sailor on the Confederate steamer *Nashville* at Southampton on New Year's Day, 1862, and after many adventures on sea and a long hard passage, after running the Federal blockade, he landed at Morehead City, North Carolina, February 28, 1862. The *Nashville* was under command of Captain Robert B. Pegram, who found out during the voyage, and after a sore test of his good faith, that Dawson was fitted for better service than the ordinary sailor and treated him with consideration. So much impressed was he with the intelligence and fidelity with which he had discharged his duties that by authority of the Secretary of the Navy he appointed Dawson a master's mate in the Confederate Navy. The report of the voyage was written by Dawson under the direction of Captain Pegram and a letter was written by him in Pegram's name to Governor Pickens, of South Carolina, thanking him for the use of the guns with which the steamer had been armed. The service in the Confederate Navy was not so exciting as Dawson liked; and he resigned his place in order that he might go into the Army as a private soldier, and as such reported for duty to Captain William Pegram of the Purcell Battery of field artillery a few days before the Seven Days' Battle began near Richmond. It was at Mechanicsville, June 26, 1862, that he received his baptism of fire. Though he had not been assigned to any particular duty in the battery, and looking on as an interested observer until accident should make a vacancy that he might fill, "I tied my horse behind a corn crib," says Dawson, "near by, and awaited developments, walking up and down in the rear of the guns to see what was going on. . . . A solid shot bowled past me, killed one of our men, tore a leg and arm from another and threw three horses into a bloody, struggling heap. This was my chance, and I stepped to the gun and worked away as though existence depended on my labors. For the great part of the time I acted as Number 5, bringing the ammunition from the limber to Number 2 at the piece. I felt for the first time the fierce excitement of battle. There was no thought of danger, though the men were falling rapidly on every side. So the battle continued until about six o'clock, the men cheering wildly whenever there was any sign of weakening on the part of the enemy. I did not know what hurt me; but I found myself on the ground, hearing, as I fell, a man near me say: 'That Britisher has gone up at last.' In a few moments I recovered my senses, and found that I was not dead, and that no bones appeared to be broken. The warm blood was pouring down my left leg, and on examination I saw that

a piece of shell had scooped out five or six inches of the flesh below the knee, and near the femoral artery, making an ugly wound. I did not feel that I was disabled, however, and, tying a handkerchief as best I could around my leg, I went back to my post, and there remained until the battery was withdrawn after sunset."

From the day that he went on board the Confederate steamer *Nashville* at Southampton to the end of the glorious struggle for constitutional government at Appomattox, on sea and on land, in the Navy and Army, as sailor and private soldier, in the artillery and cavalry, in the field and on the staff, this brave young Englishman performed his duty with singular courage and devotion. His record is kept among the archives of the Survivors' Association of Charleston District, and reads as follows:

"Entered Confederate service in December, 1861, at Southampton, England, as sailor, aboard the C. S. Steamer *Nashville*. Promoted to master's mate, C. S. N., February, 1862. Resigned as master's mate, C. S. N., June, 1862. Entered Purcell Battery, Field's Brigade, Army Northern Virginia, as private, June, 1862. Promoted to First Lieutenant of Artillery, August, 1862. Promoted to Captain of Artillery, April, 1864. Served from June, 1862, to October, 1864, as Assistant Ordnance Officer, First Corps, Army of Northern Virginia, and from that time to April, 1865, as Ordnance Officer, Fitzhugh Lee's Cavalry Division.

"Present at the following engagements: Mechanicsville, Second Manassas, Fredericksburg, Gettysburg, Chattanooga, Knoxville, Wilderness, Spottsylvania Court House, North Side James River, 1864, Valley of Virginia, 1864, Five Forks.

"Wounded at Mechanicsville, June 26, 1862; at Harrisonburg, Va., 1864; at Five Forks, March 31, 1865.

"Taken prisoner near Williamsport, Va., September 14, 1862. Released on parole, October, 1862.

"Surrendered and was paroled, May, 1865."

In their endorsements of Captain Dawson's application for admission to membership in the Survivors' Association, Captain R. B. Pegram of the Confederate Navy earnestly recommended him "as one eminently entitled, by his efficient services, to enjoy all the advantages and honors of a Survivor." General James Longstreet took "pleasure in certifying to the services of Captain Dawson in the First Corps, Army of Northern Virginia." General R. H. Anderson was afforded pleasure to "say that the services rendered by the applicant eminently entitle him to share the privileges and distinctions of a Survivor. My acquaintance with Captain Dawson began in the early part of the war; but during a period of about six months, following the Battle of the Wilderness, (whilst in command of Long-

street's Corps) I had constant opportunities to observe the meritorious conduct and gallant bearing of this officer." Fitzhugh Lee wrote: "Captain F. W. Dawson was my Ordnance Officer at the time he specifies. He was a brave soldier and an efficient officer. Survivors! Let him in."

It was not remarkable, after the unavailing effort of the South to achieve independence, that Captain Dawson should have determined to make his home in the South. He had given to its cause his most loyal service, he believed with his whole heart in its cause, he had established among its people his firmest friendships, and he felt that worse even than the struggle in the field would be the restoration of well-ordered government. He elected to stay with them. Seeking whatever employment offered, first as a clerk in a grocery store, then as a farm hand and afterwards as road agent of an express company, he found at last his true place in the guild of journalism. His first work was done as a local reporter on the staff of the *Richmond Examiner* under H. Rives Pollard, a notable figure of the period, and done so well that the news editor commended him most heartily for his fluency, style and indefatigable energy. The *Examiner* fell under the displeasure of the Federal Commandant at Richmond, and its publication was suspended because of the "disloyal" reports of the Yankee Hops which were a feature of the military occupancy of the Confederate capital. Captain Dawson was immediately employed on the *Dispatch* as legislative and local reporter until September, 1866, when, because there was little prospect of advancement, and because there was a disposition on the part of the proprietors of the paper to stop his salary during his absence on account of illness contracted in their service, he resigned his position and became for a few months route agent of an express company. His employment in this business fortunately did not last long, and coming to Charleston in November, 1866, he entered the service of the *Charleston Mercury* under Colonel Robert Barnwell Rhett, where he remained until the autumn of the following year, when he and B. R. Riordan became one-third proprietors of the *Charleston News*, a newspaper with a circulation of about twenty-five hundred, two very old presses, a broken-down engine, a suit of badly worn type, but with debts of nearly \$20,000 and—a future. Upon this foundation these two ambitious young men built up one of the great newspapers of the South, acquiring in 1873 the old *Charleston Courier* and uniting the two properties under the name of *The News and Courier*.

It was as editor and manager of *The News and Courier* that Captain Dawson performed his greatest work. For years he was the controlling spirit in the political life of South Carolina. He directed its politics and in large measure he shaped its laws. Whatever the

cause, if it were a good and just cause, he enlisted in it with his whole heart. If it were a bad cause, whatever the sacrifices required, he made them cheerfully, and, however great the odds, he faced them with courage, intent only upon doing what was best for his State and its people. To this day it is a tradition among his people how he scorched with his invective the doers of iniquity and exposed with pitiless severity the shams and cheats of his day and generation. It required courage of the highest order to meet the crowding issues of the Reconstruction era in South Carolina, and to the bravery with which this man met his responsibilities more than to any single influence or force is the State indebted for the prosperity which has come to it in these piping times of peace. When the civilization of the white man was in peril and the State was overwhelmed by the hosts of darkness, sustained by the bayonets of the conquerors, he was the voice of the people. Wise in counsel, eloquent in speech, steady in action, indifferent to danger, pleading for peace while there was any hope of peace and riding into the midst of the mob when there was "blood in the air," he was master of himself and of the fate of his people. He stood for the white man, yet he was just to the negro. With a great many of the best and bravest men of the State he favored in 1876 the election of Chamberlain, the last of the Stranger Governors, not on the ground of principle but as a matter of strategy, but when the nomination of Hampton was determined upon none did more for Hampton than he and the newspaper he made.

Captain Dawson stood for the honor of the State. He insisted that it should meet all its honest financial obligations, that the public credit must be maintained, that the Law and not the Mob must rule, that the cause of education must be advanced, that the people must be secured in all their political rights, that the *Code Duello* must be banished, that the public charities must be supported, that the industrial development must be nourished, that justice must be done to all men, the guilty punished and the captives set free, whatever their color. He was a politician only in the higher and better sense. He never held office and never sought office and would not take office. In the Democratic party he was a tower of strength. He knew its principles by heart and held to them with his whole heart. As delegate to numerous state and national conventions of the party he served with devotion, and in his newspaper he wrought with tremendous force for the success of Democratic principles. In the discussion of the tariff question, of the rights of the states, of the limitations of the Federal power, of the suffrage, he proved his mastery. In the making of the platforms of the party in State and Nation he took an active part. His style was most effective, and in all that he said and all that he wrote he understood what "The Country Par-

son" has happily described as "the art of putting things." Writing of him several years ago, a very intimate friend said that one of his marked characteristics was "his unfailing industry," to which was added "his power of absorption." "His mind was like a sponge which sucks up water." "He possessed the most extraordinary facility of grasping at once the information and thoughts and ideas of others and assimilating them for his own purposes." More than that, he could express the thoughts of others better than they themselves could express them, so clear was his mind and so graceful his style of composition.

Speaking of Captain Dawson just after his death, and when all that he had done for the State was fresh in the mind, the Honorable James Simons, one of the most distinguished men of the State and for years Speaker of the South Carolina House of Representatives, said: "Gifted with rare abilities, he combined extraordinary brilliancy with extraordinary energy. Fearless, undaunted, prompt, and abounding in resources, he was at his best in the most trying emergencies." Another notable tribute paid to him at the same time was written by Judge George S. Bryan, of the United States District Court, who said: "He united zeal with discretion, courage with prudence, the gifts of genius with practical common sense and worldly wisdom." It so happened that during his lifetime almost every day brought its "trying emergencies," and that he was on guard while others took their ease and slept. For the conditions of the times in which he lived and worked the most superb courage was required, not the courage fortified oftentimes by the numbers of those engaged in some perilous enterprise, but the courage of the individual mind and conscience, and this sort of courage was possessed by Dawson in marked degree. All things considered, possibly, it was never more forcibly illustrated than in his fight against the *Code Duello*, which had become a part of the unwritten law of South Carolina. In Captain Dawson's opinion it was a barbaric survival and should be placed under the ban of the criminal code of the State. No one who knew him felt that his course was influenced by any wish on his part to escape personal responsibility for any offenses he might give to those with whom he came into contact in his strenuous life—he had been tried on too many fields in which his valor had been proved, he had on more than one occasion acted in "affairs of honor"; but because he had reached the conclusion that duelling was unchivalric and un-Catholic, he set himself against the institution and, largely through his influence, secured the passage of a law making duelling murder and requiring every public officer in the State, in addition to the usual oath of office, to take an oath not to send or receive a challenge or to engage in a duel while in office, upon pain of disfranchisement.

chisement and making himself ineligible to hold any public office of honor or trust. That was the end of duelling in South Carolina; indeed, so far-reaching was the reform that the *Code Duello* has become one of the obsolete customs of the whole South. It required a degree of moral courage that can hardly be appreciated in these days of expediency when the lawmakers follow the crowd, and journalism has degenerated into a business of circulation and not of influence upon public thought and conduct. So great was the effect of his work in this cause that upon the petition of the Roman Catholic Bishop of Southwark, England, Pope Leo XIII conferred upon Captain Dawson the dignity of knighthood, because, as the Papal brief expressed the will of the Holy Father, "you have defended the doctrines of the Catholic Church in South Carolina and the United States, and have bravely and victoriously attacked the duel, which has in those regions been practised in a deplorable manner." The Order conferred for this signal service to law and religion was that of St. Gregory the Great of the military class.

It must not be supposed, however, that because of his successful fight against duelling Captain Dawson was lacking in any sense in the spirit of resentment, or that he feared any contest that might be thrust upon him. On more than one occasion he was threatened with personal violence, but in all the invitations that were given he proved his entire willingness to defend himself in the most effective way possible whenever and wherever the attack should come. It was his experience, as it has been the experience of many other brave men, that it required far greater courage to resist and overthrow an established custom of the best society than to withstand the assaults of well-advertised enemies.

Not only did Captain Dawson exhibit courage of the highest order in matters affecting him directly as an individual, but in all the "trying emergencies" to which the community in which he lived was subjected, it was his spirit that gave life and hope and strength to the people. It was his voice and example and service in the great earthquake of 1886 that gave a new meaning to disaster, and larger hope in despair. Writing with the walls crumbling about his head in the early morning of September 1, 1886, he said: "We cannot, as yet, measure the extent of the calamity of last night. It is enough to know that the loss of life is heavy, and that the injury to private property appears to be greater than that which was caused by the cyclone. Charleston is hit sorely this time. Perhaps our misfortune will bring our people nearer and closer together." There was no "sensational journalism" in that simple statement, nothing but a courage that inspired every man and woman in the community with new faith and hope.

Two days later, before the fires which were kindled in many parts of the town had died out, before the dead had been buried and while yet the houses were in ruins and the streets piled up with wreckage, came this magnificent challenge to the world:

"Charleston is ready for business despite the earthquake and its ravages. The warehouses give ample accommodations; the compresses are fully up to their work; the merchants and factors, undaunted by misfortune, have girded up their loins anew for the battle of commercial life. . . . Let it not be imagined for a moment that Charleston is sitting in the ashes bewailing the loss of millions."

Throughout the period of reconstruction which followed the catastrophe Captain Dawson labored with tongue and pen, day and night, relieving the suffering, encouraging the despondent and saying in his newspaper and in the best and truest way only the things that should have been said, until the broken walls had been built up and the waste places made smooth. It was a wonderful manifestation of the power of a brave man exercised always with a deep sense of personal responsibility. Not only did he strive for the upbuilding of the community in which he lived, but there was no concern in the large business and industrial life of the State and the South that he did not promote to the largest measure of his resources. It was by him that the new slogan of Southern development—"The Mills Must Come to the Cotton"—was first raised, and it was by the help of his editorial work that "outside capital" and home investors as well, began to exploit the South as the most promising field of the cotton manufacturing industry. In his mind nothing would contribute so surely to the growth and salvation of the South as the diversification of its industries; and it has come to pass that in the course of comparatively few years South Carolina has become the second largest cotton manufacturing State of the Nation, controlling as it already does the coarse goods market, with the certain prospect in time of controlling also the fine goods market of the country and dominating the cotton goods trade of the world.

Another triumph Captain Dawson achieved in the industrial life of the State was the development of tobacco growing in South Carolina. In his opinion no state could be prosperous that confined its energies to the production of one crop, and by the employment of expert talent and the distribution of seed, with careful instructions as to the best methods of cultivation, he established tobacco growing as one of the staple industries of the State, thus making the farming people independent in considerable measure of the manipulators of the cotton market. It was also at his instance that the marvellous agricultural possibilities of the Sea Islands of South Carolina were first advertised to the world, and by his assistance also, and his ever-

lasting preaching, that the Charleston District was converted into the centre of the largest truck growing district in the United States and the largest fertilizer manufacturing centre in the world. His interest in these arts of peace was as zealously pursued as were his activities in the political field. No man can measure, save by what has been accomplished, the influence of his intelligent work upon the commercial, agricultural and industrial development of his State and of the South.

It must be seen that with so much of his time and energies employed in what may very well be described as constructive work, Captain Dawson did not have the opportunity he so much coveted of engaging in purely literary effort. He was an omnivorous reader and remembered everything he read. He possessed a wonderfully adaptable mind and a style of special purity and grace. He held "fine writing" in particular aversion. He encouraged in many ways the writing spirit of those ambitious of literary distinction, and built up about the newspaper establishment he controlled a corps of excellent writers, some of whom have since achieved distinction in the world of letters. He realized that there was a great unexplored field of history and romance in the South that had not been touched, the high living of ancestral progenitors not less than the simple annals of the poor, and it was his hope that in time the careful chronicler would rescue from pitiless oblivion these muniments of a rapidly disappearing civilization. It was with some such object in mind that he invited the women of the South to tell in their own way the story of their experience during the War for Southern Independence, and assembled in *The News and Courier* the most vivid narratives of the part played by them in this great struggle that have ever been written. The campaigns of the Confederacy had been fully described by those who had participated in them, the National Government had provided out of its abundant resources for the records of the War of the Rebellion, but no provision had anywhere been made for an account of what the women, the most loyal of all the "Rebels," had done. "Only the part played by the Southern women, the wives, sisters and daughters of the Southern soldiers, had been overlooked or ignored." "It seems to us," wrote Captain Dawson in his preface to this work, "that no Confederates were more worthy of our loving remembrance than those who bound their warrior's sash when he went forth to fight; who suffered worse than death, a thousand times, when battle raged loud and long; who were stung and wounded by privations that the hardy soldier never knew; and who, besides, were exposed to the injuries and taunts of the infamous raiders who, during and after the war, visited Southern homes and stripped them of what was holiest and dearest because it was dear and holy. . . .

They (these sketches) serve to portray the Confederate War as it was never portrayed before—as it was seen and felt by the women at home. None can read these simple tales of heroism, suffering and patriotism without loving and honoring the tender mothers, the thoughtful sisters, and all the gracious gentlewomen who unfalteringly bade their kinsmen do their duty, and who, for their part, bore unflinchingly mental suffering and physical pain such as no other nation of women has ever known since the world began.” As Captain Dawson said in writing about this work when it had been completed: “Our women died a hundred deaths, died day after day and almost hour by hour. The Southern Cross was on their breast always, and on their lips. True soldiers of the Southern Cross were they; though no ribbon or star is the badge of their nobility. It is little, very little, for their dear sake, to try to give the public, nineteen years after the capitulation of General Lee at Appomattox, some faint idea of what they saw and what they did, what they hoped and what they feared, in those exciting times which are gone forever.” The volume containing these *Memorabilia* has long since gone out of print, but it was as well a monument to Captain Dawson’s literary instinct as to the writers who contributed to its pages the story of the glory of the cause in which they were enlisted with the men at the front. Captain Dawson did not often woo the poetic muse, but in October, 1866, while waiting at a wayside station in Virginia, he wrote these verses, which deserve preservation in any satisfactory account of his life and work:

ONLY A PRIVATE

Only a private! his jacket of gray
Is stained by the smoke and the dust;
As Bayard, he’s brave; as Rupert, he’s gay;
Reckless as Murat in heat of the fray,
But in God is his only trust!

Only a private! to march and to fight,
To suffer and starve and be strong;
With knowledge enough to know that the might
Of justice, and truth, and freedom and right,
In the end must crush out the wrong.

Only a private! no ribbon or star
Shall gild with false glory his name!
No honors for him in braid or in bar,
His Legion of Honor is only the scar,
And his wounds are his roll of fame!

Only a private! one more hero slain,
On the field lies silent and chill!
And in the far South a wife prays in vain
One clasp of the hand she may ne'er clasp again,
One kiss from the lips that are still.

Only a private! there let him sleep!
He will need nor tablet nor stone;
For the mosses and vines o'er his grave will creep,
And at night the stars through the clouds will peep,
And watch him who lies there alone.

Only a martyr! who fought and who fell
Unknown and unmarked in the strife!
But still as he lies in his lonely cell,
Angel and Seraph the legend shall tell—
Such death is eternal life.

The most effective of Captain Dawson's many public addresses was that delivered by him to the South Carolina State Press Association in 1876, in which he laid down the true chart of journalism. Not only were the counsels he gave the members of this craft of great practical value, but there was a distinct literary refinement in his utterances on that occasion which shows how well he might have wrought had he found opportunity in his abundant labors to devote more of his time to literary work. The address is far too long for the limits of this appreciation of the man and his work; but it touches so intimately the mission of the press, which is the handmaiden of literature, that quotations from it would be in complete harmony with the purpose of this 'Library of Southern Literature.' Taking the saying of William Cullen Bryant: "The Press is a mill that grinds all that is put in its hopper. Fill the hopper with poisoned grain, and it will grind it to meal, but there is death in the bread," as his text, Captain Dawson said:

"Whether the newspaper press shall build up or pull down; whether it shall stimulate morality or encourage vice; whether it shall give healthfulness to thought and vigor to action, or palsy the hand and fetter the tongue of them who would expose the myriad forms of modern Pharisaism, depends mainly upon the character and purposes of those who control and direct it. . . . It formulates and crystallizes opinion, clothing it in the garb of winning or repellent words. It may not create public sentiment; but it shapes, develops and directs it. It makes of inward convictions and silent beliefs living, breathing realities; and, speaking with

myriad tongues, day after day, causes them to enter into every nook and corner of our daily life. By its newspapers is the community judged; for the newspaper seldom rises higher or falls lower than the level of its average constituency. To its public it is what the warp is to the woof; and the warp and the woof make up that social fabric which varies from the familiar homespun of the western village to the gorgeous tapestries of the eastern metropolis.

"We are told that what is written stands, and passes not away. And the awful thought has come to speculative philosophers that on some later day, and in other worlds than ours, every man shall see before him, as on a scroll, every syllable he has ever breathed, shining in the heavens where each word, as it is uttered, sets its eternal seal. And so, out of his own mouth shall every man be judged. It is an appalling thought, and the realization of it is had, in a measure, by the journalist. Assemble the blanched pages together; display them in the plains, for no valley of Jehoshaphat would hold the army of silent witnesses; and the journalist has before him the story of his life. There stand the undying words. Each one has done its work. Of each one must account be given. This accountability, whether here or hereafter, near or remote, cannot be escaped; and in the degree that the journalist realizes this truth must he be imbued with a deep sense of personal responsibility. It is his first debt to the public."

The other tests which Captain Dawson would apply to the calling of the journalist, and which he sought to apply in his own administration of the newspaper he founded, were fearlessness and independence and last of all, "the keystone of the arch," honesty. Upon these four cardinal principles, in his opinion, "hang all the law and the prophets," so to say. In this spirit and with these sentiments breathing in all that he said to his associates of the Press of South Carolina, he closed his address, as this sketch may now be closed with these words:

"Be patient, be steadfast, be true! And when the race is run, whether good or evil fortune shall have crowned our labors, we shall be restful and content if we only have within us the sweet, sweet knowledge that, with voice and pen, we have stricken with all our strength, while life lasted, at the impostures, the follies, and the vices of the times."

J. C. Hemphill

RUNNING THE BLOCKADE

From 'Confederate Reminiscences.'

ON the evening of the nineteenth of February we were told that we might expect to make land the next morning, and as soon as the sun rose every one was on the lookout. In an hour or two land was in sight on the port bow, and even my unskilled eye could make out what seemed to be a long dark cloud on the horizon. Gradually the land became distinct, and by noon we were lying off Bermuda signalling for a pilot. The general aspect of the island was far from inviting, as nothing could be seen but rugged hills covered with dwarfed trees, and I looked in vain for the fine harbor of which I had heard so much. A boat with four negroes who were making considerable fuss came alongside with a splash, and, in great state, the black pilot clambered up the side and took his place in the pilot house. He understood his business. The *Nashville* ran squarely towards the island as though she was to be thrown upon the rocks. Then a narrow passage between two lofty hills was visible, and into this we steamed. Above our heads on each side towered the rocks, and the passage was so narrow that the yards seemed to scrape the trees on either side as we passed in. The passage gradually opened, and we dropped anchor in the beautiful harbor of St. George's. This harbor is, without exception, the most beautiful and picturesque that I have even seen. There was not a ripple on the water, while dotting its brightly blue bosom in every direction were hundreds of islands, some of them of considerable size and others mere spots upon the placid surface of the harbor. The surrounding hills were adorned with houses built of white stone and shining like snow in the light of the sun. On the highest point was the signal station, where floated the red cross of St. George. It was near the end of February, yet the weather was warm and the sky was unclouded. It was hard to realize that only a few days before we had left cold fogs and drizzling rain in England.

The principal object in calling at Bermuda was to obtain a supply of coal, and Captain Pegram made a bargain with the master of a Yankee bark then in the harbor for as much

as we needed. I think the coal had been intended to supply United States cruisers which were expected to stop at St. George's, but the high price we offered was too much for the patriotism of the master of the bark. I had a great desire to go ashore and see what Bermuda looked like, but this privilege was denied me, as Bo'sun Sawyer found abundant occupation for the whole of us in shovelling coal and then scrubbing the paint. I was allowed on Sunday to be one of the boat's crew who went to the landing to bring off Captain Pegram, who had gone to church, and I had the satisfaction of waiting there in the sun for two or three hours and of being roundly abused by the rest of the crew for "catching crabs" in the most awkward manner as we rowed back to the *Nashville*.

Up to this time Captain Pegram had not determined positively whether he would run into Charleston, Savannah or New Orleans, and the information which he obtained at Bermuda satisfied him that these ports could only be reached with great difficulty, as the blockade had now become rigid. A ship captain whom he talked with informed Captain Pegram that he thought we might run into Beaufort, North Carolina, with comparative ease, and it was determined to try our fortune there.

After leaving Bermuda I was relieved from some of the scrubbing and cleaning, and was allowed to take my turn as lookout, being posted for two hours at a time on the foretop-sail yard. There I had the pleasantest hours that I knew on the *Nashville*. It was quiet and still. I was far removed from the bickering and blackguardism of the crew and could indulge myself freely in watching the varied hues of the dancing waters, broken now and again by a shoal of porpoises, or by the brief flight of the flying-fish as they darted from the wave in the effort to escape from their pursuers. But all this was not conducive to keeping a sharp lookout. The second day after leaving Bermuda I was busily thinking of what might happen when we should reach our destination. The hail came from below: "Foretopsail yard there!"

I answered promptly "aye! aye! sir."

"Why haven't you reported that sail?"

I looked around the horizon and replied: "I have not seen a sail this morning, sir."

"No, I suppose not! come on deck!"

When I reached the deck I was received with a grin of derision, and found that a fine schooner was running under full sail within half a mile of us. I had looked too far. Every one too had been busy while I was dreaming aloft. The American flag was flying at our peak, and the men were now sent to the guns. A boat's crew was called away, and, eager to atone for my neglect, I jumped in. We pulled over to the schooner, which was now lying to, boarded her, and found her to be the *Robert Gilfillan*, from Boston to Hayti, with an assorted cargo. The master, a loquacious down-easter, was led to believe that the *Nashville* was the United States steamer *Keystone State*, and he invited the officer in charge of the boat to take breakfast with him. The hot rolls looked most tempting, and the fragrance of the coffee was particularly tantalizing. The master, whose name was Gilfillan, told us that everything was going on splendidly for "the Union," and that the Union troops has been "whipping the bloody Rebels like forty." In fact, "the Rebellion was nearly played out." Lieutenant Ingraham, who was in command of the boat, very quietly said: "Haul down your flag and take your papers aboard my ship immediately."

"What for?" asked Captain Gilfillan.

The answer came promptly: "That vessel is the Confederate States steamer *Nashville*, and you are my prisoner."

The poor fellow was part-owner of the schooner, and I shall not soon forget the mingled dismay and astonishment on his face. But resistance was useless, and he did as he was ordered. All our boats were now lowered and everything of value, the bells, chronometer, glasses and nautical instruments, some provisions, brooms and a lot of "notions," were taken aboard the *Nashville*. The schooner was then set on fire, and in a few hours had burned to the water's edge. For some days the hearts of the crew were gladdened by the fresh butter and choice Boston crackers which formed part of the stores of the ill-fated *Gilfillan*. The master and crew were given as comfortable quarters as we had, and all possible care was taken of them.

As we neared Beaufort every light was carefully covered at night, even the binnacle lamps being masked. At midnight

we hove to for soundings, and found that we might expect to make land by daybreak. The men seemed to think we should certainly be captured, and packed up their clothing in their bags ready for a run. No one slept much that night, and as soon as the fog lifted in the morning every eye was on the alert. Beaufort Harbor was plainly visible some miles distant, and we saw, besides, what we did not care to see. "Sail astern!" shouted the lookout; and then came the cry: "Sail on the starboard bow!" and then again: "Sail on the port bow!" Things looked rather blue. The vessel astern did not cause us much anxiety, but the blockaders on our port and starboard bows, although not directly in our course, were so far ahead that if we attempted to run in, we might expect to be cut off. But Captain Pegram was prepared for the emergency. "The Stars and Stripes" were run up at the mainmast head, and a small private signal of Messrs Spofford & Tileston, the former agents of the vessel, was run up at the foremast. Our course was then changed so that we headed for the nearer of the two United States vessels. The "Stars and Stripes" were displayed by them, in response to our flags, and a vigorous signaling began. It was plain that the blockader could not make out the meaning of Spofford & Tileston's pennant. On we went without heeding this until Beaufort Harbor was not more than five or six miles distant on our starboard bow. We could see the officers on the quarter-deck of the blockader, and the men at the guns. The engines were slowed down, and we blew off steam. The blockader nearest to us thought that we had something to communicate, and lowered a boat. As this was done, we hove around, the "Stars and Stripes" came fluttering to the deck, and the Confederate flag was run up at the foremast, the mainmast and the peak. With all the steam we could carry, we dashed on towards Beaufort. The Yankee now saw the trick, and fired a broadside at us. No harm was done. She followed rapidly, firing occasionally from the bow guns; but without injury we crossed the bar under the protection of the guns of Fort Macon, and came safely to anchor near the railroad wharf, at Morehead City. For a little while we were in more danger from our friends than from the enemy. The commandant at Fort Macon took us for one of the enemy's vessels, and

was about to open on us with his heavy guns, when one of his officers suggested that, as we were running towards the fort, they might as well wait until we were somewhat nearer. This proved our salvation. Before we had reached the point where they could effectively fire at us from the fort, we had shown our true colors and given the blockader the benefit of a clear pair of heels. It was a beautifully calm morning, and the *Nashville* surpassed herself. In splendid sailing trim and with little or no cargo, she must have made sixteen or eighteen knots as we ran into the harbor.

On the *Nashville* now all was joy, for the blockader attempted no further pursuit. The men hurraed, and the officers tossed up their caps and congratulated each other on our success. Well they might. They were looking forward to a speedy reunion with their families and their friends. For the first time I realized my isolated position. There was no home or friends for me; nothing but doubt and uncertainty, yet I had confidence that with time, faith and energy, I might accomplish what I desired. The day, a pregnant one for me, was February 28, 1862.

HARRIS DICKSON

[1868—]

CHARLES P. KEMPER

HARRIS DICKSON, author and jurist, was born at Yazoo City, Mississippi, July 21, 1868. He is the eldest son of Thomas H. and Harriet E. (*née* Hardenstein) Dickson. He received his common school education at Meridian and Vicksburg, Mississippi, attended the justly celebrated Summer Law Class of Dr. John B. Minor, of the University of Virginia, in 1891; and was graduated from Columbia University, Washington, D. C., in 1894, taking the degree of Bachelor of Laws.

He was private secretary to Andrew Price, Congressman for the Third District of Louisiana, in 1893-1894. He has been a member of the Bar and an active practitioner of law since 1896, at Vicksburg, Mississippi. His marriage to Madeline L. Metcalf, of Kentucky, was celebrated April 19, 1906.

He was elected judge of the Municipal Court of Vicksburg, by the influence of a so-called reform movement happening at about that time. While occupying this position, Judge Dickson "hewed to the line" in his decisions, striving for real reform; and reaped, as a reward for his laudable efforts—official decapitation. His judgeship was marked by a drastic tone that became a "terror to evil-doers"; and seemed too radical to those in authority.

As an author the distinguishing feature of Mr. Dickson's career is his remarkable versatility, with voluminosity a close second. His first book, 'The Black Wolf's Breed,' was published in 1899. This was followed, in close succession, by 'The Siege of Lady Resolute,' in 1902; 'She That Hesitates,' in 1903; 'The Ravenels,' in 1905; 'Duke of Devil-May-Care,' in 1905; and by 'Gabrielle (Transgressor),' in 1906. In addition to these publications (all of which are novels) Harris Dickson, with unsurpassed industry in the gathering of facts and statistics, has prepared and had published in the *Saturday Evening Post*, of Philadelphia, a series of articles dealing, in the broader sense, with facts and ideals in sociology: "The Way of the Reformer"; "Please Y'Onner"; "The Vardaman Idea"; "Black Belt Finance"; and five well-elaborated articles, entitled "The Battle of the Bottle," and dedicated, as it were, to a great wave of public sentiment, then existing, versus the sale and dis-

pensation of spirituous liquors; also a well-enunciated article, published in the same periodical, of date May 11, 1908, entitled "The Dwindling Black Ballot." The Bottle articles began with a general discussion of the great struggle, in its many and varied phases; then took up a special treatment of the subject, by states; taking, first, Alabama; then Georgia; then Kentucky and Tennessee; and in concluding the argument and historical narration, the fifth paper began in Virginia, and embracing the issue in point as applied to the intervening South, winds up in Texas.

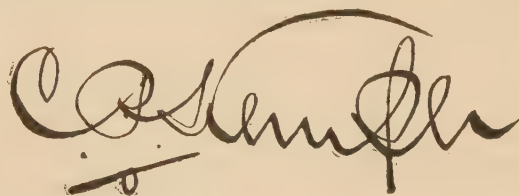
So much for the chronology of the literary labors of this versatile, voluminous and gifted writer. It is now in order to turn our attention to some of the notable merits of his writings. His 'Black Wolf's Breed' is a genuine historical novel, being "A story of France in the Old World and the New, happening in the reign of Louis XIV"; and has had great success. The dedicatory page of this volume bespeaks the magnitude of the interest which may well be taken in the subject-matter of 'The Black Wolf's Breed,' when it recites as follows: "To the memory of Bienville, the soldier Governor of Louisiana, out of whose province has grown nearly one half of the world's greatest republic." The word-painting of his Nature descriptions is of fine tone, original, and rhythmical. His analytical arrangement of events is systematic and strong, while the burden of his narrative proper is carried along with a splendid swing. He does not always make use of the most approved English in his phrasing; and yet he expresses his ideas forcefully. He also indulges, occasionally, in anachronistic vagaries that try the patience of any well-ordered mind; as, for example,* his locating a quasi-assassination in a Vicksburg hotel in 1897, as a postponed vengeance of a period, when it might have well been legitimized by actual occurrence; but totally incongruous to the existing conditions of that specific later epoch. Also, the naming of certain localities some decades before they were originally christened by other historians.

His tendency, at times, to portray grewsome events in too vivid colors, in order to test and prove his capacity for strenuous description, is another major fault with Mr. Dickson's method, for example, in "The Death Struggle," in 'The Black Wolf's Breed;' and several scenes in 'She That Hesitates' that need not be mentioned. Moreover, his touches of humor, exceedingly well-flavored and pleasing in his pieces of lighter vein, oftentimes become, in his serious productions, out of plumb and unnecessary. In his socialistic philosophies Harris Dickson has found his strongest point as

*Vide 'The Ravenels.'

a writer. His "Vardaman Idea" and his "Battle of the Bottle" series are full of potent reasonings and suggestions, and replete with honesty of conviction. In "The Vardaman Idea," however, he misses, in company with the illustrious Mr. Vardaman, the *main issue* to be handled in a proper solution of The Negro Problem; to wit, the condition *not* parallel with Egyptian history, of mixed-race-propagation, and the resultant anomalies which go with it: with the fault at the door of the Anglo-Saxon, primarily and indisputably. The economy of God's wisdom alone can solve it, logically and *equitably*. The "Battle of the Bottle" articles are all monuments to Mr. Dickson's untiring industry and zeal, and consonant with the public good.

Again, throughout all of his writings Mr. Dickson evinces, upon proper occasion, a most perspicacious insight into the labyrinthine turnings and twistings of feminine idiosyncrasies, coupled with a sparkling touch of sentiment that appeals to the daughters of Eve as the sweets of the honeysuckle to the adventurous bee.



UNRECONSTRUCTED

From 'The Ravenels.' Copyright by The J. B. Lippincott Company. By kind permission of the publishers.

OLD Davezac grumbled to himself and his swarthy face looked positively black. An ugly scar that ran from the corner of his mouth, southwest across his chin, flamed angrily. He did not pause; he mounted the steps emphatically, crossed the gallery, opened the door, and entered without the formality of a knock.

The front room to the left was still designated "The Parlor," although the Graysons had never used it since the war. It was a huge square room, with a long pier glass in it which the chances of a siege had left unbroken, family portraits, a veteran piano, and a lot of ancient furniture. John Davezac knew it well, and he knew exactly what he had come to see.

He stamped into the room and walked straight to the

mantelpiece. There he stopped, glanced around at the old-fashioned hangings, the wall-paper with queer medallions all over it; then he kicked aside a rug; he shoved the centre-table out of its place, moved a big chair, another rug, and another. Under everything he touched there was a hole cut cleanly out of the carpet and the bare floor showed beneath it.

The Graysons' carpet had once been their family pride—a soft cream color, with huge red roses at intervals. Now it looked more like a chess-board, with every other square left blank. The roses were all gone, every one of them cut out by Federal cavalymen to make into saddle-blankets. Aunt Blessy could remember seeing the whole squad ride off with those brilliant roses underneath their saddles.

Mr. Davezac stood there glaring down at the holes; he gritted his teeth and swore, "Damn the dam-Yankees."

In his dictionary "dam-Yankee" was a compound word, riveted together and utterly indivisible.

The old man examined the scars on the piano—saw where the strings had been torn out so that the troopers might feed their horses in the box—and he swore; he stuck his fingers into the ribs of the horse-hair sofa, and swore, and swore.

Then he looked at all those familiar portraits again; they were really very comical, with their eyes punched out and mouths slit straight across, slashed by bayonet and sabre.

Davezac stood beneath one of these portraits, a woman, young and very beautiful. Both her eyes were gone and she had a great gash on her breast. A vein began to swell in the old man's throat, but he forgot to swear.

John Davezac drew a long breath and stamped out of the room. "Don't give a damn!" he muttered. "We killed more o' them than they did of us."

He strode across the hall and looked into the library; there was nobody there. Then he went around in front and stalked down the long gallery to General Grayson.

The General was reading; his beard brushed a copy of *'Amiel's Journal,'* which he held in his lap, and a steady finger followed the passages as he read. In the Frenchman's placid philosophy he always found a companionship that enabled him to smile upon the backs of a forgetful world. Davezac startled him.

"I say, Marcy," Davezac burst out, "it's a damn shame! I've just been looking around in there again."

"Looking around at what?" Grayson closed the book, holding his forefinger between the pages.

"Why, the way those dam-Yankees tore up your house."

The General glanced at him, and the merriest of twinkles came into his eye; but he said nothing; he knew that Davezac would break out again in a minute.

"One of them came down to my place last Monday—you know I'm staying down here for a while until my house on the plantation is repaired—a long-legged fellow from I-o-way, as he calls it; he said his battery had occupied a hill out there by my house somewhere and he was looking for it; had a lot of maps and things. Of course, the nigger hackman didn't know that hill from a hole in the ground, so I told Captain Quarles that I'd help him locate it. I knew the hill very well from the way he described it.

"Now, Marcy, don't you know I must have been hard up for something to do? Nan and Matilda are gone away and I get kind o' lonesome. But I couldn't 'a' done less than show the feller a hill, could I, Marcy?"

General Grayson nodded. He did not smile—visibly.

Davezac leaned against the gallery rail, looking uneasily at the river, and went on; "So we got a couple of horses and rode over to that hill. By dogs, Marcy, what do you think? He was the same dam-Yankee captain that commanded the battery stationed right in front of mine—we were pluggin' away at each other for nearly three months. Sometimes I used to see him jump up on his gun and cheer when he sent a shell that knocked us all to flinders."

Davezac writhed in spirit, then he began to admit the worst.

"Now, Marcy, I wouldn't tell a soul in the world about this but you. What do you think we did—two old sniffin' fools? Soon as we found that out we got down, right there in the mud, and stood bareheaded, shakin' hands. Couldn't neither one of us say a damn word. Ain't I just a natural-born chuckle-head?"

General Grayson made no comment—it was too serious.

"It was pretty blame hot when we got back home; I made

the feller a julep—had to be sort o' polite to him in my own house, didn't I? We talked a little while, and here came Zilly Ann with the supper—that nigger hasn't got a bit o' sense. I just had to invite him to supper. There he was, sittin' right there. After supper he mixed up a drink—a new one on me—it tasted fine. We took several like that, and kind o' talked about old times. Would you believe it, Marcy, that dam-Yankee must 'a' put me to bed—I can't exactly remember how it was. But the next morning before I was up he had the impudence to come into my room, lookin' fresh as paint, with a cocktail in each hand—said they were good for the headaches."

Davezac turned a sheepish glance toward the General; the General leaned over and carefully marked a passage in his book. Davezac squirmed, waited—and exploded. "Damn it, Marcy, why'n't you say something?"

"There's nothing to say, John. You've gone and done it."

Then there was a long silence, and both men watched the sunset turning the river into a shimmering sea of amethysts.

Presently Davezac continued, with his eyes still fixed upon the river:

"Tuesday I went walking with the feller—all over the battlefields where they are goin' to have the park. Long-legged devil, nearly walked me to death. I called him 'Dam-Yank' and he called me 'Johnny Reb,' just as the boys used to holler at each other when they weren't shootin'. Ain't it funny, Marcy, how the same old tricks crop out again in the same old dogs?"

Davezac's confession dribbled away into silence and he smiled unconsciously—a smile of undefinable sweetness when he was sure that no one saw it—but he shook his head stubbornly.

"I got to thinkin' about it this evenin', Marcy, and it kind o' scared me. That dam-Yankee was beginnin' to put me in a good-humor with 'em again. So I thought I'd just drop in and take another look at your carpet, all cut up for saddle-blankets."

General Grayson looked very solemn. This melting mood of Davezac's was not a thing to be treated lightly. After a while he ventured, "How did you finally get rid of the fellow?"

"Ain't rid of 'im yet, that's the trouble. He's some kind of a judge, or governor, or something up where he lives, and the Park Commissioners are giving him a dinner to-night."

John Davezac rose abruptly and walked back and forth with his hands behind him; he kicked an ottoman viciously and started around to the front of the house again. He had gone only a few steps when he turned savagely to General Grayson.

"But I never will forgive 'em, never have a bit of use for one of 'em as long as I live. No, no, I don't give a cuss about Mister Nigger, I'm glad he's free—ain't wuth a continental cold-water damn anyhow; that ain't what riles me up. Those folks brought Mister Nigger here, we didn't. They had the slave ships and got rich by it. While they were busy rakin' Africa with a fine comb, sellin' niggers to us at five hundred apiece, we never heard a word about abolition. Oh, no! Just like these promoters of a boom town—soon as the outsider stepped in and bought the lots the boom busted. No, I don't want to see the country divided, never did, I'm too proud of her as she stands. But those folks commenced that, too. They started this secession business right at Hartford, but when we catch on to the idea they come down and hammer it out of us. That's what makes me so hot in the collar."

General Grayson threw himself back in his chair and laughed at the other man as he waddled down the long gallery and disappeared around the corner.

As soon as he had got out of sight, Davezac stopped and thought about it. Then he slipped to the telephone.

"Hello, Central. Park Commission, please. Hello, hello, is that the Park Commission? Is Captain Quarles there? Yes, if you please, ask him to the 'phone. Hello, is that you, Quarles? This is Davezac. Don't forget that you are coming out home to-night; my driver will call for you at half-past ten. No, no trouble, he can wait. All right! Good! See you then. Good-by."

Davezac paced back to General Grayson and sat down without a word. "Look here, John," asked the General, "didn't the feller have any clothes all that time? A long-legged man couldn't even wear your pocket handkerchief."

Davezac wriggled in his chair, then explained how it was. "Well, you see, Marcy, it happened this way: I had a wagon

coming out from town that night, and I just told the driver to stop by the hotel and get the feller's trunk."

FOREWORD

From 'The Black Wolf's Breed.' Copyright by Bobbs-Merrill Company. By permission of the publishers.

IT is fitting that old men, even those whose trade is war, should end their days in peace, yet it galls me grievously to sit idly here by the fire, in this year of grace 1746, while great things go on in the world about me.

The feeble hound at my feet, stretching his crippled limbs to the blaze, dreams of the chase, and bays delighted in his sleep. Nor can I do more than dream and meditate and brood.

News of Fontenoy and the glory of Prince Maurice thrills my sluggish blood; again I taste the wild joys of conflict, the clashing steel, the battle shouts, the cries of dying men—yea, even the death scream of those sorely stricken, comes as a balm to soothe my droning age. But the youthful vigor is gone. This arm could scarcely wield a bodkin; the good friend of many campaigns rusts in its scabbard, and God knows—France had never more urgent need of keen and honest swords.

Thus run my thoughts while I sit here like some decrepit priest, bending over my task; for though but an indifferent clerk I desire to leave this narrative for my children's children.

My early life was spent, as my children already know, for the most part in the American Colonies. Of my father I knew little, he being stationed at such remote frontier posts in the savage country that he would not allow my mother and myself to accompany him. So we led a secluded life in the garrison at Quebec. After the news came of his death somewhere out in the wilderness, my brave mother and I were left entirely alone. I was far too young then to realize my loss, and the memory of those peaceful years in America with my patient, accomplished mother remains to me now the very happiest of my life.

From her I learned to note and love the beauties of mountain and of stream. The broad blue St. Lawrence and the mighty forests on its banks were a constant source of delight to my childish fancy, and those memories cling to me, ineffaceable even by all these years of war and tumult.

When she died I drifted to our newer stations in the South, down the great river, and it is of that last year in Louisiana, while I was yet Captain de Mouret of Bienville's Guards, that I would have my children know.

Along the shore of Back Bay, on the southern coast of our Province of Louisiana, the dense marsh grass grows far out into the water, trembling and throbbing with the ebb and flow of every tide. Thicker than men at arms, it stands awhile erect where the shallow sea waves foam and fret, then climbing higher ground, it straggles away, thinner and thinner, in oaken-shaded solitudes long innocent of sun. Beginning on the slopes, a vast mysterious forest, without village, path, or white inhabitant, stretches inland far and away beyond the utmost ken of man. There the towering pines range themselves in ever-receding colonnades upon a carpet smooth and soft as ever hushed the tread of Sultan's foot. Dripping from their topmost boughs the sunlight's splendor flickers on the floor, as if it stole through chancel window of some cool cathedral where Nature in proud humility worshiped at the foot of Nature's God.

It was in those wilds, somewhere, the fabled El Dorado lay; there bubbled the fountain of eternal youth; through that endless wilderness of forest, plain and hill flowed on in turbid majesty the waters of De Soto's mighty grave.

BIENVILLE

From 'The Black Wolf's Breed,' Copyright by Bobbs-Merrill Company. By permission of the publishers.

MUSING on this strange story, and the old man's unwonted fear, I walked on down toward the water's edge where my Indian friends, already in the pirogue, awaited me. Another half hour and we were in Biloxi. When we reached the barracks I found orders to attend the governor at once.

Bienville stood before his fire alone, quiet, but in a very different mood from any in which I had theretofore seen him.

"Captain de Mouret," the rough old warrior began, without any prelude or indirection, "I desire to send you at once to Paris on an errand of the utmost importance to myself and to this colony. I select you for this task, though I can ill

spare you here, because it is a delicate matter. I believe you to be honest, I know you are courageous." I bowed, and he went on. Something had evidently occurred to vex and irritate him.

"You know the people who surround me here, the weak, the vicious, the licentious of all the earth. A band of unprincipled adventurers, vile Canadians and half-breeds, all too lazy to work, or even to feed themselves out of the bountiful earth which would give everything we need almost for the asking. The air is full of rumors of a Spanish war, and a Natchez-Chickasaw alliance. If these things are true we would find ourselves entirely cut off from French supplies, and this colony would literally starve to death. Yes, starve to death with untold millions of fruitful acres all about us. Had we strength to fight I would not care so much. With but two companies of undisciplined troops, a mere straggling handful, officered by drunkards, we could not defend this post a day against any organized attack."

All this I knew to be true, so I made no comment. He pursued the conversation and evidently relieved his mind of much that had troubled him for months.

"Then this beggarly commissary of mine, and the trafficking priest, de la Vente; they are constantly stirring up strife against me here, and putting lies in the hands of my enemies at court. The King, too, is wearied out with this endless drain upon his treasury for money and supplies, and is now, so I am informed, almost already to accede to Crozat's proposition, and turn over to him the revenues and government of the colonies."

The old man grew earnest and eloquent.

"What! turn over an empire such as this to a miserable trading huckster, the son of a peasant—permit him to name governors and officers! Why, under his rule, such cattle as La Salle and de la Vente would feed fat upon the miseries of the people! Great God, Placide, do you appreciate what that means? To create this peddler of silks and laces lord of a boundless domain, more magnificent than Louis in his wildest schemes of conquest ever dreamed? Why, boy, the day will come when for a thousand leagues the silver lilies will signal each other from every hill top; marts of commerce will thrive and flourish; the land will smile with farms and cities, with

proud palaces and with granite castles. The white sails of our boats will fleck every lake and sea and river with their rich burdens of trade, pouring a fabulous and a willing wealth into the coffers of the king. Gold and silver mines will yield their precious stores, while from these niggard natives we will wrest with mighty arm the tribute they so contemptuously deny the weakling curs who snap and snarl at my heels. Grey tower and fortress will guard every inlet, and watch this sheltered coast. In every vale the low chant of holy nuns will breathe their benediction upon a happy people. And hordes of nations yet unknown and races yet unborn, in future legends, in song, in story and in rhyme, will laud the name of Bourbon and the glory of the French. Oh lad! lad! 'tis an ambition worthy of a God."

The governor had risen, and waving his long arms this way and that, pointed out the confines of his mighty dreamland empire with as much assurance as if cities and towns would spring up at his bidding. His whole frame spoke the most intense emotion. The face, glorified and transfigured by the allurements of his brilliant mirage, seemed that of another man.

THE FALL OF PENSACOLA

From 'The Black Wolf's Breed.' Copyright by Bobbs-Merrill Company. By permission of the publishers.

I SLIPPED down the anchor chain without noise into the throbbing sea, and swam ashore to a point some three or four cable lengths away. Guided by the single voice which still sang of war, of glory and of death, I pushed easily into the ring of hideously painted savages who surrounded the singer. To unaccustomed eyes this would have been a fearful sight.

Two hundred warriors sat motionless as bronze idols, about their chief, two hundred naked bodies glinted back the pine knot's fitful glow. In the centre of this threatening circle moved Tuskahoma, two great crimson blotches upon his cheeks, treading that weird suggestive measure the Indians know so well. Round and round a little pine-tree, shorn of its branches and striped with red, he crept, danced and sang. His words came wild and irregular, a sort of rhythmic medley, now soft and low as the murmur of the summer ocean, now thrilling

every ear by their sudden ferocity and fearful energy. Now it was the gentle lullaby, the mother's crooning, the laughter of a child; again, the bursting of the tempest, the lightning's flash, the thunder's rumbling roar.

His arms raised to heaven like some gaunt priest of butchery, he invoked the mighty Manitou of his tribe, then dropping prone upon the ground he crawled, a sinuous serpent, among the trees.

For awhile his listeners wandered away upon their chieftain's words to the waiting ones at home, to hunting grounds of peace and plenty; melodious as a maiden's sigh that song breathed of love and lover's hopes; it wailed for departed friends, extolled their virtues, and called down heaven's curses upon the coward of to-morrow's fight. Then the fierce gleam of shining steel, one wild war-whoop and all again was still. His words faded away in the echoless night till a holy hush brooded o'er beach and forest. Then the solitary dancer wound about the ring as the crouching panther steals upon her prey, while peal after peal came the frightful cries of barbaric conflict, the shrieks of the wounded—a wild, victorious shout blending with a hopeless dying scream.

With a master's touch he played upon their vibrant feelings; not a key of human emotion he left unsounded—fame, pride, hate, love and death—his song expressed them all.

Thoroughly frenzied, warrior after warrior now began to join him in the ring; voice after voice caught up the dread refrain which terrorized the trained soldiery of Europe and filled their imaginations with the nameless horrors of unrelenting war.

High above the din Tuskahoma lifted now his ferocious battle cry; advancing upon the blazed sapling he sank his tomahawk deep into the soft white wood, then moved swiftly out of the circle of his own fire. This was the act by which he announced his assumption of supreme authority.

Frantic with excitement the unleashed throng rushed upon this fancied enemy, and soon but the mangled fragments and the roots marked where it had stood. And the forest slumbered and the sentry paced his lonely path.

It is not my purpose to speak in detail of those matters of history which have been so much better described by men

of learning. I would merely mention, in passing, such smaller affairs as relate directly to my own narrative.

Short and sharp was the conflict which, under God, gave our arms the victory at Pensacola. Swarming over the palisades or boldly tearing them down, the Choctaws, led by Tuskahoma, swept the Spaniards from their works. It so happened that Tuskahoma and I mounted the fortifications together. As I essayed to drop down upon the inside my sword-belt caught upon the top of a picket, leaving me dangling in mid air, an easy prey to those below, had they but noticed my plight. Tuskahoma paused to sever the belt with his knife, and by this accident I was first within the Spanish works, sword and pistol in hand. Soon a hundred were by my side. The Spanish troops, inured to civilized warfare, could not stand before these yelling demons, springing here and there, elusive as phantoms, wielding torch and tomahawk with deadly effect.

In the forefront, shoulder to shoulder, with a laugh and a parry, a lunge and a jest, fought the Chevalier de la Mora. Merry as a lad at play, resolute and quick, I could but stop sometimes to wonder at the fellow. Gallant, gay and *débonnaire*, he sang a rippling little air from soft Provence, and whirled his blade with such dainty skill that even the stoical Indians gazed in awe upon the laughing cavalier. Fighting through a by-street, he met, steel to steel, a Spanish gentleman, within the sweep of whose sword lay half a dozen of our good fellows. De la Mora glanced at this silent tribute to the Spaniard's prowess, his face lighted up with a soldier's joy. He planted one foot staunchly across a prostrate corpse, and right jauntily rang out the hissing music of their steel. Instinctively I paused to watch, and as instinctively understood that though pressed to his best, De la Mora desired to be left alone. Verily, it was a gentleman's fight, and no odds, for love and glory's sake, though the Spaniard might have had a whit the better. As I fought on, I heard the swift hurtle of a flying knife, and saw the Spaniard drop his sword. De la Mora glanced around with indignant eyes to the Choctaw who had made the cast, now looking for approval from this gentleman who sang like a woman and fought like a fiend. The Chevalier was like to have wreaked summary vengeance for striking so

foul a blow. Through the press I could see him go up to his late adversary, bare-headed and courteous, to extricate him from the motley, bleeding group wherein he had fallen. Throwing his powerful shoulder against a door, he broke it down, and tenderly carried the wounded gentleman within. I could then see him quietly standing guard at the door, waiting for the turmoil to cease, for it was then quite evident that the day was ours.

EVENING IN THE DELTA

From 'Duke of Devil-May-Care.' Copyright by The D. Appleton Company. By permission of the publishers.

THE grim gray mystery of a February twilight came slinking through the swamp. At the edge of the clearing, where the circling forest broke, an occasional glimmer blurred the window of a cabin—blurred it with a faint light that choked and strangled in the fog. Afar off, some belated negro was chopping wood for supper. The muffled strokes of his ax boomed dully among the deadened trees, where stark white cottonwoods thrust their naked arms into the sky.

The mist, clammy and vague and full of sinister suggestion, crept out of the cypress brake, and spread like a slow-unrolling shroud across the level fields of Devil-May-Care Plantation.

On and on it crept, stealing through the fences, blotting out the pastures, curling round the cotton-houses and throttling the stables.

Horses and mules stalked about ; huge, misshapen creatures, they seemed like dripping phantoms that had been drowned and had risen again from some intangible, suffocating sea.

It was as if the sky had grown too heavy and had sunk upon the earth. Nothing but the trees and houses held their heads above the fog, swimming hopelessly, and battling for breath.

Not an inch of dry land remained, nothing except that thin long line of levee—one slender thread of certainty through the realm of the unreal.

PEG-LEG DAWKINS

From "The Battle of the Bottle," *The Saturday Evening Post*, December 28, 1907.
Copyright by The Curtis Publishing Company. By permission of the publishers.

THE slate has been wiped so clean in Tennessee that little can now be done except to write the obituary, pronounce the customary eulogies and carve the epitaph. Let no unkindly word be said. *De mortuis nil nisi bonum*.

Better than any man in Tennessee Peg-leg Dawkins knows how this calamity occurred. All of it he saw, much of it he was. Peg-leg drove a thriving trade in the Turkey Trot Precinct until that cranky Legislature of 1877 passed a fool law which prohibited saloons within four miles of incorporated schools outside of chartered towns. The invasion of personal liberty Peg-leg resented bitterly. He announced that the law was unconstitutional, and he "fit it." He sold whisky merrily, in spite of Turkey Trot Academy, and argued the folly of sumptuary laws. He stood as squarely on his constitutional rights as a one-legged man could stand on anything. And his little lawyer advised him that the Supreme Court would never sanction the repeal of Magna Charta. This sounded reasonable to Peg-leg.

But a prejudiced jury convicted him, in spite of his lawyer, and utterly regardless of a misspelled word in the indictment. The whole proceeding was shameful—and Peg-leg always maintained that somebody corrupted the supreme judges to decide against him. His lawyer advised that they could never put him in jail—"that's what the writ of habeas corpus is for." "But they are a-doin' it," complained Peg-leg. And the lawyer had to admit that much.

"We'll sue 'em for damages."

"—— that," said Peg-leg.

Sixty days is a long time to spend in jail, especially when a horse-thief in the next cell kept suggesting to Peg-leg that he had better climb up on his constitutional rights again.

When Peg-leg got out he moved his saloon—exactly four miles and three inches from the Academy. Then he winked his eye and remarked that "he knew a thing or two."

This did very well until a bunch of hayseeds took a notion to set up a school on the other side of him. And the worst

of it was they hired a little blue-eyed school miss from Nashville to come down and teach the children. "An' it looked like every blamed fool in the county went plum crazy about them danglin' ribbons o' her'n, an' that dinky little hat she wore."

Teacher had to pass his place every morning. She hurried by on the other side of the road and kept her eyes upon the ground. "Some sparkin' young fellers began keepin' her company and see her past my place in safety." It looked awfully funny to Peg-leg for a while.

One morning two of his best customers lounged in and remarked, "Well, Peg-leg, we reckon you had better shut up shop; 'twon't do for Miss Pearly to be a-seein' all of these drunken niggers settin' aroun'—"

"I was here fust—" Peg-leg objected.

"Don't make no diffunce—the law don't say nothin' 'bout which was here fust—you're in less'n four miles o' that school, and you got to move."

"My lawyer says—"

"See here, Peg-leg, better not stand on your Constitutional rights—you done tried that oncet. Moreover, constitutions ain't no good in this settlement ef they meddles with Miss Pearly's school. You gotter git."

Peg-leg got. He got a surveyor to locate him a place in a thickly-settled neighborhood where no school could interfere with his constitutional rights. Then he set to work building him a shanty.

The very next day some meddlesome fellows came along and commenced measuring off the ground right beside his shanty, and driving down a stake at each corner.

"Whisky allers brings business," remarked Peg-leg affably. "We'll have a town here after a while."

"Sho will," the man answered.

"What kind o' store you goin' to build?" asked Peg-leg.

"Ain't goin' to be no store—goin' to be a schoolhouse; the trustees of Happy Hollow has been thinkin' about it fer quite a spell."

Peg-leg hustled off to see his lawyer, who said a lot about "injunctions" and "mandamuses." He got out a pile of books, and charged twenty-five dollars. But someway or other their

proceedings slipped a cog, and Peg-leg moved to town, where there were plenty of saloons. "The more the merrier," laughed Peg-leg.

Before he got his chair warm and his bar fixtures paid for the town surrendered its charter and all the saloons were closed. He consulted another lawyer, who explained that "where a town gave up its charter the four-mile law applied." Peg-leg knew all about four-mile laws—he'd cut his wisdom teeth on them already. This lawyer charged him one hundred dollars—and took his bar fixtures for the fee.

"Always did hate a rube town," said Peg-leg. Then he moved to Nashville.

Here he contracted with a brewer to sell his brew, and none other. The brewer promptly secured him a house near the railroad where negroes congregated, paid his license, furnished a bar, a big mirror, and set him up in legitimate business. He began to consider running for alderman.

Of course, the brewer took his twelve installment notes to pay for the license. This was only fair and didn't bother Peg-leg.

Nashville was a fine town, and railroad negroes were always thirsty. Peg-leg did not read the daily papers and had no scent of trouble until one morning when the brewer's agent called him into the back room to talk business. "We are very sorry, Mr. Dawkins, but this place will have to be discontinued. We did all we could to prevent it, but the city council has passed the segregation ordinance."

"What's that?" asked Peg-leg. He would not have known a segregation ordinance if he had met it with a bell on.

"Well, they just ain't going to allow any more saloons in this part of town—all of 'em have to be up yonder in a bunch right under the nose of the police."

"Then I'll move up yonder," suggested Peg-leg. He was getting tame now and amenable to reason; constitutional rights didn't appeal so strongly to him.

The agent shook his head. "Sorry, Mr. Dawkins, but we have rented every house we can get in the restricted district, and you know we've got to take care of our old customers first. We can't get you a location."

Peg-leg leaned against the door facing. "Ain't thar no way to git around the law?" he questioned.

"I don't see any way," answered the brewer's agent. "We've taken the best legal advice, and our lawyers say 'tain't no use in fighting it."

"That puts me out of business," gasped Peg-leg and dropped on a beer keg to rest. The whole thing made him tired.

The temperance people got quick action in Tennessee. Saloons were driven to the towns by operation of the four-mile laws. Town after town surrendered its charter and ousted them.

Parksville, Bristol, Jackson, even Knoxville, reincorporated under charters forbidding the sale of whisky. The vote in Bristol was 539 against the saloon to 17 in its favor. In Jackson there were only three votes for the saloon—and this is said to be a joke the saloon men played upon the Prohibitionists.

There are now only three cities in the State of Tennessee where liquor may be legally sold: Nashville, Chattanooga and Memphis. Nashville has a restricted saloon district; Chattanooga will reduce her saloons to 67—with 120 applicants for license in the scramble. Memphis alone does business in the old way at the old stand.







S0-CUV-980